BEETHOVEN LETTERS IN AMERICA



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BEETHOVEN
LETTERS IN AMERICA

Fac-similes
with
Commentary

By

O. G. SONNECK

In Commemoration of
March 26, 1827

Published by
THE BEETHOVEN ASSOCIATION
NEW YORK

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By O. G. SONNECK

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New York

To the Memory

of

LOUIS SVECENSKI

whose veneration for Beethoven

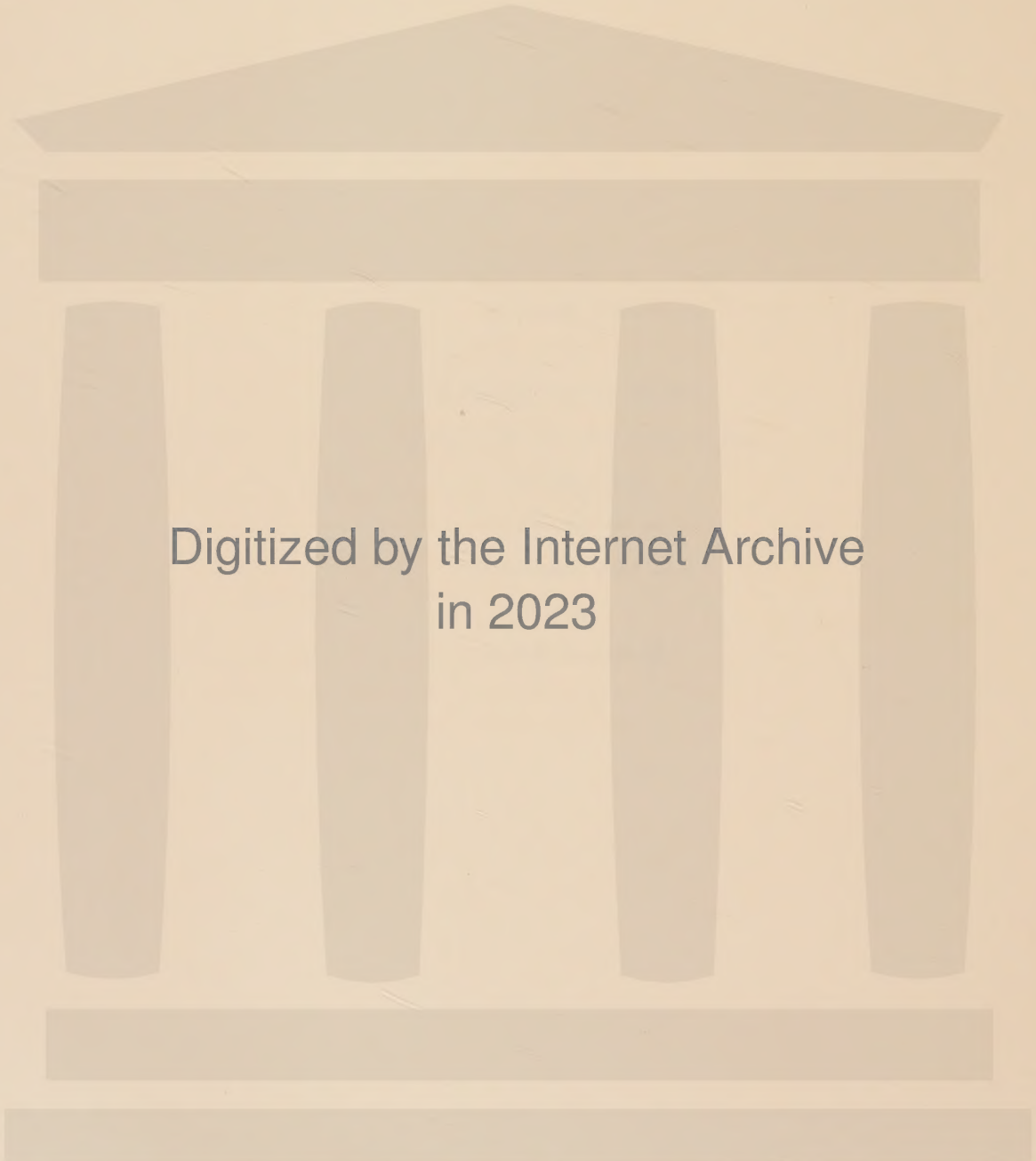
was reflected

in the purity of

his own character

as

Man and Artist


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Ich bin nicht schlimm—heisses Blut
Ist meine Bosheit—mein Verbrechen Jugend,
Schlimm bin ich nicht, schlimm wahrlich nicht; wenn auch
Oft wilde Wallungen mein Herz verklagen,
Mein Herz ist gut.——

Symb: Wohlthun, wo man kann
Freiheit über alles lieben,
Wahrheit nie, auch sogar am
Throne nicht verleugnen
....Ludwig Beethoven
aus Bonn im Kölnischen

Wien, den 22. Mai, 1793.

(Written for the Album of A. Vocke in Nürnberg; the first lines quoted from Schiller's "Don Carlos" (II, 2)

INTRODUCTION

Not many years had elapsed since Beethoven's death on March 26, 1827, before the interest in his letters assumed substantial proportions. Otto Jahn, to whom we owe the standard Mozart biography, left among his papers not less than 400 copies of such and the American Alexander Wheelock Thayer in his equally monumental "Life of Beethoven" remarked that he had seen and studied over eight-hundred of them. But it is a far cry from him and Ludwig Nohl with his first attempt (1865) at a complete edition of Beethoven's letters to our own times which benefited from the additional labors of such Beethoven specialists as Deiters, Nottebohm, von Frimmel, Shedlock, Kalischer, Prod'homme, Sandberger, Kastner, Riemann and many others. Thus Kalischer's five volume "complete" edition (1906-1908) contains 1221 items. The task of translating these volumes into English fell to J. S. Shedlock (1909) but unfortunately his *tour de force* ran out of print several years ago. Recently Dr. Eaglefield-Hull selected and edited 457 of the Shedlock translations in one volume "for the general reader rather than for the musical researcher and historian." No two editors would agree on what constituted the best selection of letters "bearing more particularly on the music of Beethoven or more directly on his character," but Dr. Hull's answers its main purpose well. The pity merely is that his editorial revision of texts, dates, explanatory notes, etc., is so negligible and takes practically no account of recent Beethoven literature. Of course, the difference would have been noticed by only a sprinkling of readers and reviewers, but a better book is always preferable to a good book.

Kalischer's edition was immediately followed by that of Prelinger (1907-1911), also in five volumes with 1313 items, inclusive of memoranda and the like. Pursuing a similar objective, Emerich Kastner indexed for Theodor von Frimmel's second Beethoven Jahr-Buch (1909) not less than 1433 items by first line, an indispensable guide for rapid reference for any one who nowadays occupies himself with Beethoven letters. Because of severe criticism meted out by him to Kalischer, astoundingly industrious but inaccurate and tasteless, Frimmel was entrusted with publishing a revised edition of Kalischer, but he does not appear to have issued more than volumes second and third (1910-1911), in addition to Kalischer's own second edition (1909) of volume first. On top of his Index of

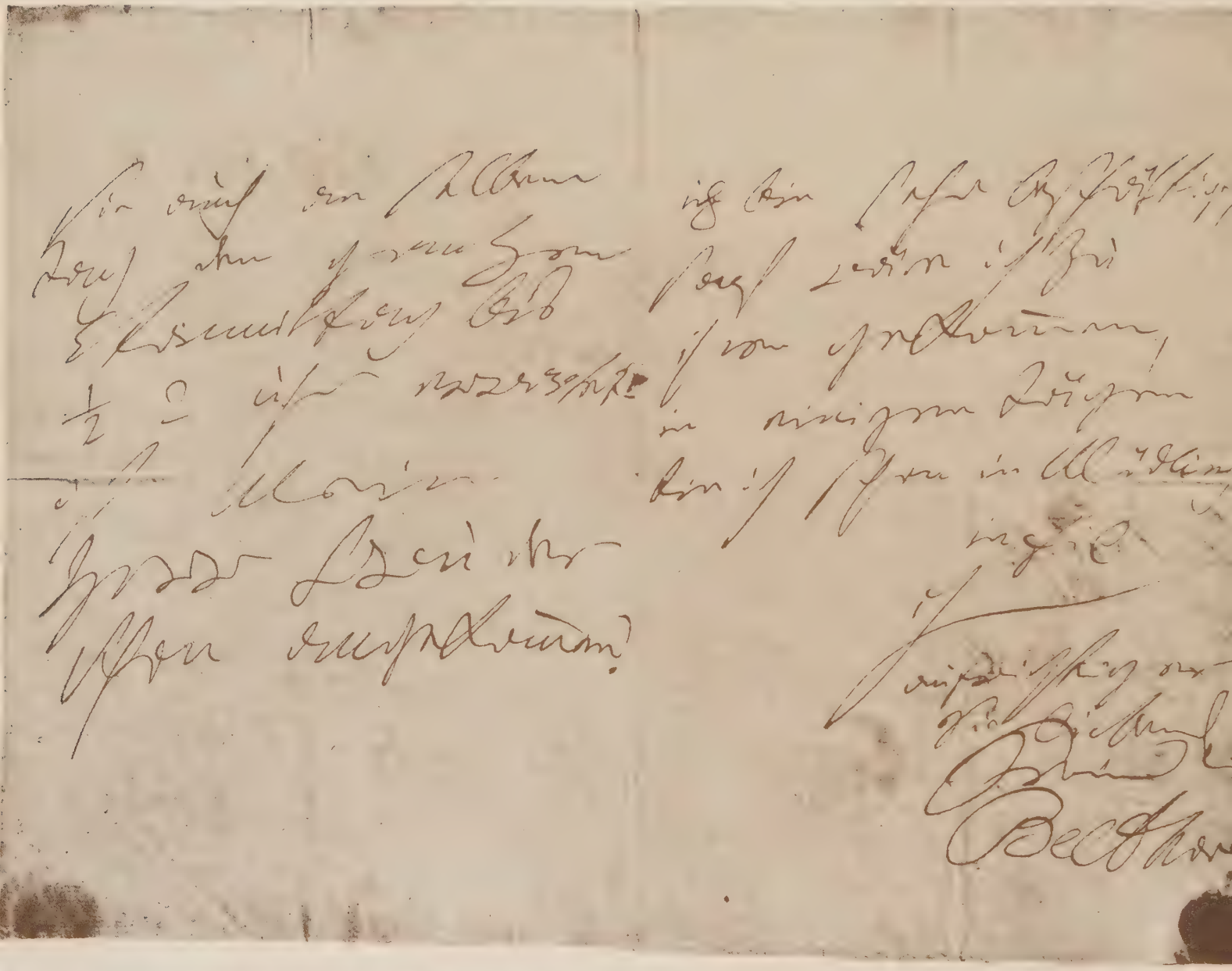
first lines, Kastner published in 1910 Beethoven's letters in one volume. The domain of Beethoveniana not having remained arid since then, Julius Kapp in 1923 issued what he called a "completely revised and substantially augmented, new edition" of Kastner with 1474 items. For several years Max Unger has been preparing a more scientific, complete edition of the master's letters, but it is safe to say that not even his will remain the last one in the field.

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Until the last, Beethoven longed for a complete edition of his musical works and discussed the project with several publishers and friends. On the other hand, it probably never entered his mind that posterity might become interested in a complete edition of his letters. Presumably he would have greeted such a suggestion with his boisterous laugh or with a sarcastic sally. What we call "letters" he most likely would have characterized as "Fetzen" (scraps of paper) and he rightly would have insisted that many of them were but strictly confidential, personal memoranda and not intended for the public eye. Otherwise he might have played posterity the practical joke of making them even more illegible than they usually are. At any rate, I doubt that Beethoven, with an eye to posterity, would have gone out of his way to write "interesting" letters, though a considerable number of his hastily scribbled utterances do possess that attribute.

Beethoven, as Richard Aldrich has aptly said, was a note writer rather than a letter writer, but the brevity of most of his notes or letters does not lessen their illegibility: they are notoriously difficult to decipher. He knew this but would laughingly remark that "life is too short to paint letters or notes"; in his dictum the word notes, of course, referring to his music. Indeed, they are frequently perpetrated in a scrawl to be called *writing* by courtesy only. Furthermore, many hundreds of them without date, place, appellation or address, the majority employing a strictly personal system of abbreviations and practically all of them specimens of a magnificent contempt for and indifference to the conventional paraphernalia of grammarians.[1] The thought is the thing: to recipients, biographers, specialists and collectors the pastime is left to unravel the threads and in the process of interpreting the

[1]Even when dictating letters to Schindler or his nephew Karl in their capacity as secretaries, he would stubbornly impose his idiosyncrasies of grammar, punctuation, etc., on them and "correct" their script accordingly.



scrawls of genius to come to blows over a correct reading, when often enough one man's guess is as good as another's.

Often, but not always, for not infrequently some of us who do not pose as Beethoven specialists, wonder why they drag crude errors of dating and decoding from one supposedly "critically revised" edition of his letters to another. One explanation, of course, is that many of the letters have changed hands and that it is practically impossible for any one editor to trace the present owners and to examine the original manuscript anew. To illustrate the point, I turn to a letter written by Beethoven in May, 1818, as Frimmel suggests but at any rate between 1818 and 1820, to his friend and admirer Count Moritz Lichnowsky and now in the Library of Congress. The letter was first published as late as 1900 in a Viennese newspaper, apparently escaped Kalischer and Prelinger and figures as No. 863 in Kastner-Kapp. The latter's reading of the letter practically agrees with Mr. Carl Engel's of the Library of Congress—except for that part of it (with italics by me) which may contain the key to its hidden purpose. The epistle refers to Beethoven's brother Johann and here is the difference between the two readings:

KASTNER-KAPP

(in modernized German)

Werter Freund! Sie haben mich neulich fragen lassen, ob ich des folgenden Tages zu Hause sei und ich habe Ihnen sagen lassen, dass ich Sie mit grösstem Vergnügen den anderen Tag erwarten werde, und ich habe Sie auch am selben Tag den ganzen *Vormittag bis halb 2 Uhr usw.—inzwischen ist mein Bruder schon angekommen.* Ich bin sehr beschäftigt, sonst wäre ich zu Ihnen gekommen. In einigen Tagen bin ich schon in Mödling. In Eil Ihr aufrichtiger Sie liebender Freund

Beethoven

CARL ENGEL

Werther Freund! Sie haben mich neulich fragen lassen, ob ich des folgenden Tages zu Hause sej, u. ich habe ihnen sagen lassen, dass ich sie mit gröstem Vergnügen den anderen Tag erwarten werde, u. ich habe sie auch am selben Tag den ganzen *Vormittag bis ½ 2 Uhr erwartet! ist mein Herr Bruder schon angekomen?* ich bin sehr beschäftigt, sonst wäre ich zu ihnen gekomen, in einigen Tägen bin ich schon in Mödling.

in Eil

ihr aufrichtiger Sie liebender Freund

Beethoven

(Address) An den
hochgebohrnen
Grafen Moriz Lichnowskÿ"

To the left a nonsensical *usw* (etc) instead of the word "Uhr" which gives to the sentence its sense ("and indeed I waited for you on that day the whole forenoon until half past one o'clock") and the positive statement "in the meantime my brother has already arrived," whereas in reality Beethoven puts the question "has my brother already arrived?"—the very opposite of Kapp's revised or unrevised reading. With a facsimile placed at my disposal by Mr. Engel, the reader is in a position to judge that his reading, with the manuscript before him, is correct and that of Kapp, without the manuscript before him, is incorrect.

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Whatever enjoyment readers of Beethoven letters may receive from them, I know that the frequent uncertainty of their correct text soon casts a fascinating spell over all who occupy themselves with the deciphering of Beethoven's epistolary code. Hence, if the readings of Beethoven specialists may so casually be challenged for comparatively so unimportant a letter, it is hardly likely that either specialists or publishers who are not yet entirely prostrate before the Golden Calf and still do purely cultural things out of their plenty in the grand manner, will cease to "duplicate" existing complete editions of Beethoven's letters by further editions, perfected through individual or concerted effort.

This ardor might cool, if Beethoven had belonged to those great men or women with whom the writing of letters amounted to a passion, hobby or habit—with an eye, perhaps, to posterity. After all, fifteen hundred known letters, memoranda, notes and scribblings, or even twice that number, is a very small harvest for a great composer of music with a fairly large circle of friends, enemies, publishers and casual acquaintances. In fact, Beethoven wrote letters practically only when he could not avoid it: 10,000 notes rater than one *note*, he said. This accounts for the correlated fact that comparatively few of them make for enjoyable reading *qua* literature, as do so many of Mozart, Liszt, Bülow, Wagner, Mendelssohn and lesser lights. There are many exceptions, of course, and they are not restricted to such human documents as the letters to the "immortal Beloved" or the Heiligenstadt Will, but hardly more than one-tenth of Beethoven's letters lend themselves to a judicious selection from a purely "literary" point of view. Epistolary niceties, charm of epistolary style, one must not

seek in his letters, nor ordinarily even spiritual confessions, political opinions, artistic theories, esthetic or technical discussions and the like. Mostly they occupy themselves, without epistolary fore- or afterthought, either with trivial details of domestic or professional routine or with the external vicissitudes of his compositions and only rarely do they give any insight into the processes of Beethoven's creative mind as an artist.

Nevertheless, Beethoven's letters possess a fascination all their own. Not only for scholars bent on the sport of deciphering them, but for the many of us who like to read letters—not addressed to ourselves. The very awkwardness of Beethoven's letters is attractive rather than repulsive, perhaps by way of contrast with the unfettered eloquence of his music. Yet his letters, down to the merest scraps of paper, must be called expressive. Certainly expressive of a powerful, vulcanic personality, "a totally untamed personality," as Goethe described it. Always rugged, but by no means always rough, for Beethoven, as in his music, could be touchingly tender in his letters. Also amiable, while perhaps the tone of his very next letter would be dictatorial or bitter or venomous or morbidly distrustful of those in his confidence or of his publishers, the "hellhounds who licked and gnawed his brains." Because the great majority of his letters are in no sense "cultural," the temptation may be to suspect Beethoven of an utter lack of culture. Now, Beethoven's education had been rather fragmentary, but education and culture are not exchangeable terms and I, for one, believe Beethoven to have been a man of much more education and culture, certainly of a much greater desire for culture, than some authors seem willing to admit. They are misled by externals and do not sufficiently value the significance or extent of Beethoven's literary and philosophical reading. If he laid it down as the prime requisite of a song-composer that he be familiar with good poetry, ancient and modern, that does not sound like the attitude of an illiterate and mentally defective person. Beethoven mentally defective? So he has recently been called by a medical crank who seems to think that a mentally defective could have composed the Fifth or Ninth symphonies, whose construction surely called for brain-power equal to that of any scientist, statesman or financier. Mentally defective because of Beethoven's temperamental oddities and literary crudities! We musicians, by that token, might just as well call mentally defective a medical genius who "composes" musical ineptitudes.

Translated into English, Beethoven's letters necessarily lose much in quality because his eruptive style and wholly personal eccentricities with the German language cannot adequately be translated into fluent English, especially not, if one tries, as here, to help the reader to follow the original word for word. A further difficulty confronts the translator who desires to do justice to Beethoven's boisterous, irresponsible, unbuttoned humor. Nor was Beethoven without biting wit. Only a witty man, to refer here to a well known episode, could on the spur of the moment, when his rather prosaic brother Johann presented his visiting card as "Johann van Beethoven, Guts-besitzer (landed-estate proprietor)" have countered with "Ludwig van Beethoven, Hirnbesitzer (brain-proprietor)." The difficulty of translating becomes tantalizing when Beethoven takes to his incurable habit of punning, a sport which he enjoyed quite as much as jotting down humorous canons. Also, enjoyment of his letters, whether in the original or in translation, is impaired by the innumerable allusions to more or less local persons, events and customs which constantly interrupt the flow of reading, unless one be a Beethoven scholar who carries in his memory the philological or historical apparatus necessary for the full understanding of such letters. To fling that apparatus, however, between Beethoven and the reader in the form of foot-notes, too easily results in a benumbment of all enjoyment.[1]

Finally, Beethoven's letters must be read with caution by those who seek a true picture of his character in them. To the despair of his friends (even on his death-bed) rigidly stubborn in this and softly yielding in that, now morbidly distrustful and then overly trustful, with one person reticent but with another indiscreet of utterance, irritable one day and calm the next, considerate of other persons' sensitiveness or totally inconsiderate and an exemplar of good manners and tact or boorish as the mood would seize him under his affliction or the pressure of creative work, suffering from the denial to him of "a wife who would protect him in his daily affairs from all these cheats" as he once cried out in despair, Beethoven often appeared to his disadvantage in his conversation and his correspondence.

[1]Dr. Kinkeldey called my attention to what was possibly the first of Beethoven's letters to be printed in America: his charming answer of July 17, 1812, with its exquisitely expressed artistic *credo*, to "Emilie M. zu H.," a girl of eight or ten years of age who adored him, made a pocket-book for him and inclosed it in her letter.

Apparently Beethoven's letter was first published in the "Bothe für Tirol und Vorarlberg," 1832, communicated by Matthias Sirk of Graz, Styria. In a translation, beginning "My sweet Emily" and under the caption "Original Letter from Beethoven," Dr. Kinkeldey found it in "The Musical Magazine," Boston, of February 29, 1840.

As he did, for instance, when an imaginary wrong prompted him to unjust slurs on Prince Lobkowitz. His behavior toward that erstwhile benefactor of his, caused Thayer to write these memorable words:

We have here another warning of the great caution to be exercised when using private correspondence for purposes of biography. In writing of Beethoven this is especially necessary because so large a proportion of it consists of confidential notes and communications containing the ebullitions of splenetic moments, and not seldom hasty charges and mistaken accusations, such as he gladly withdrew on learning the truth. To accept all this without question is preposterous; to use it as authentic historic matter without scrupulous examination, is to do great injustice to the dead.

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The majority of Beethoven's preserved letters have found a permanent resting place in the libraries of Berlin and Vienna or are jealously guarded in the archives of the descendants of his publishers and friends or of such institutions as the Beethoven House in Bonn. That is natural, but many are scattered through the private manuscript collections of Europe. It is practically such letters only which occasionally appear on the market and then disappear again from public gaze. Of this floating population naturally some emigrated to America, but how many, hardly ever will be known with certainty. Indeed, in Europe we in America are still credited with the possession of Beethoven letters which apparently do not exist here. If Thayer owned several letters, as he presumably did, they have not remained in his family. Also, if Thayer inspired the impression abroad that "a public library in New York," which can only mean the New York Public Library, possessed *all* of Beethoven's letters written in September, 1812 to Amalie Sebald, that institution reported to me the possession of only one of them; nor does it possess Beethoven's letter to the poet Tiedge of September 6, 1811, also attributed to it by European scholars in the wake of Thayer.[1] In 1872, two letters to Zmeskall (one beginning "Lassen Sie mich wissen, wann Sie," the other "Werden Sie nicht unwillig") are said to have been in Boston, but no owner is mentioned in the reference books

[1]Riemann found among Thayer's papers copies of two notes, one to Holz (*"Cito citissime,"*), the other to nephew Karl ("Ich melde Dir geschwinde"), both owned by a "Herr G. A. Schirmer." Was he identical with the founder of the music-publishing firm? If so, where are the notes now?

and the Boston Public Library, at any rate, does not claim ownership. Dr. Max Unger informs me also of a third, very short letter to Zmeskall of the year 1798, owned in 1871 by Dr. J. B. Bell, "probably an American" and beginning "Mein lieber scharmanter Graf!" The present whereabouts of that letter are also unknown to me. By way of compensation, at least one American living in Europe is known by Dr. Unger to have collected about half a dozen Beethoven letters—Dr. Stoneborough of Vienna, but since his letters are in Vienna and not in America, they do not command attention for the purpose of this monograph.

On the other hand, evidently the majority of Beethoven letters actually owned in America, are unknown to European scholars. Only by virtue of a ramified inquiry among libraries, notable music-lovers, dealers, musicians were they brought to light and I heartily thank all those who answered my inquiry, either affirmatively or negatively, for their coöperation and particularly the owners of Beethoven letters who put their treasures at my disposal for purposes of study and reproduction. In that manner I was able to locate thirty-five Beethoven letters and notes in America. Not a large number, compared with the known total and yet fairly impressive if one keeps in mind that only a minority of his letters did not find a permanent resting place long ago in public institutions of Central Europe.

Presumably other letters exist in America, but our country is too vast and musicological channels of approach are too uncharted for any illusory attempt at a complete census of Beethoven letters in America. Consequently this survey is bound to be incomplete. To what extent, will become known only when the missing letters sooner or later emerge from their comparative obscurity.[1] However, with musicological conditions in our country as they unfortunately still are, the time for commemorating the centenary of Beethoven's death so near, and my leisure for such laborious investigations rather limited, this pioneer-effort calls for no apologies because of demonstrable omissions. Of such I know at least one: a genuine Beethoven letter, offered me a few years after the war by a foreigner whose uncultured demeanor and rough handling of

[1]Among them perhaps Beethoven's letters to Countess Therese Brunsvik and her sister, Countess Josephine Deym, both of them candidates as his mysterious "Immortal Beloved"! According to Mr. André de Hevesy in his book "Beethoven. Vie intime" (1926), these letters accompanied the maid of Baroness Minona Stackelberg, Countess Josephine's daughter, when said maid, Vilma Vrasbio fled about 1870 to America with her lover Gabriel Miskolczy and a lot of other stolen goods.

the manuscript so disgusted me that I did not even read it, hardly has left the country again. Succumbing to my scruples against buying a letter of doubtful ownership, I declined to acquire it—for *ten* dollars, though my profit would have been a few thousand per cent. as prices for important Beethoven letters nowadays go. I hope that the letter is now in hands just as reverential and appreciative as a letter which was presented by Mr. Eugene Gruenberg of Boston to Monsieur Cortot and, therefore, has left America again.

Most of the letters in the present commemorative volume, have been published, of course, heretofore, but *eight* appear to be *unpublished.* For reference to standard complete collections I have chosen Prelinger's edition in the list of letters by first line and present owners. Prelinger's was preferred because his is the most practical for rapid reference, especially with the help of his notes in the fifth volume. Of course, Kastner-Kapp (1823) who could profit from the labors of his predecessors, contains more letters than they, but that fact proved to possess comparatively little additional value for the present study. Indeed, it puzzles me (or not) why Kapp's "completely revised and substantially augmented new edition" led him to omit apparently at least one of the letters now in America ("Das Poenale wird vermehrt") though it appears in Prelinger and elsewhere.

Whenever Thayer is mentioned in these pages, reference, unless otherwise stated, is to his "The Life of Ludwig van Beethoven" as "edited, revised and amended" by Henry Edward Krehbiel and published by the Beethoven Association of New York (1921) in three volumes. Such few translations as I preferred to borrow from this, the only edition of Thayer in English, instead of duplicating them with translations of my own, are due to the courtesy of Mrs. Krehbiel, the owner of the copyright. Now, Mr. Krehbiel's edition which aimed at condensation rather than expansion, occasionally departs from the text and argument of Deiters and Riemann, the erudite German editors of Thayer, and because their treatment of Beethoven's life during his later years usually is much more detailed and fuller than that of Krehbiel, the two editions complementing one another because of such differences, frequent recourse became necessary to the German edition in five bulky volumes.

These remarks about the two editions of Thayer's monumental work—for essentially it remains *his* work—have also the purpose of disclaiming for this little book any particular

merit in a field where Mr. Thayer still reigns supreme. That is to say, in all matters biographical it must reckon, like every other book on Beethoven, more or less with Mr. Thayer's fairly exhaustive studies and material, precisely because, after all, Thayer, too, drew heavily on Beethoven's letters for his narrative. This is attested clearly enough by the fact that the American edition prints, in addition to a biographical digest of many letters, about two-hundred of them (the German edition *very many more*), a fact strangely overlooked by reviewers of Shedlock-Hull's useful and welcome selection of Beethoven's letters who praised that volume also—because of the absence of letters in Thayer! Needless to say, I by no means restricted myself to a consultation of Thayer, but frequently consorted—another happy phrase of Riemann—with the Beethoven *micrographers* among whom, at best, I may now reckon myself.

If the present volume sheds a few rays of light on obscure spots in Beethoven's life, that happens incidentally to a task which is not primarily biographical. This monograph has as its real object merely a survey and examination (without paleographical subtleties) of letters of Beethoven which found their way to America, as interesting enough in themselves to warrant study, whether or no they contain anything biographically new. Thus the book proposes to be a contribution, less to Beethoven biography in the larger sense, than to what Riemann with a happy phrase terms Beethoven "Klein-Litteratur" and there again to the specialized literature on Beethoven's correspondence. Within these narrow limits, the book, I trust, may claim some "originality" and importance. Not so much because it seeks to elucidate obscure dates and remarks in the letters and discusses controversial matter nor because, in the interest of the general reader, it tries to set each letter in a frame which will bring into relief the events leading to and from the letter, but because of the newness of the subject itself and because of the form of treatment. It would become a preposterously expensive and indeed impossible enterprise to print a complete edition of Beethoven's letters in fac-simile with notes so copious as mine, instead of merely transcribing and translating their text with occasional brief notes, or none at all. Therein lay for me with my narrow subject a distinct advantage over the compilers of complete editions. I could afford to do, indeed had to do within the limits of my competence in this particular field of scholarship, what reasons of space, expense, inaccessibility and so forth

could not possibly allow others to do for all of the master's letters. Precisely for that reason not only I, but Beethoven specialists abroad, are under obligations to the present owners of Beethoven letters in America for having lent their treasures to me for my purposes and to the Beethoven Association of New York for the generous vote of its members at the Annual Meeting on April 18, 1926, to provide the funds for the publication of this study in book-form. Only in this form, for instance, could the fact convincingly have been demonstrated that the text of hardly a single letter now in America appears correctly in any of the complete editions of Beethoven's letters! Not that I am pedantic enough to point out in each instance where Kalischer, etc., blundered, or foolish enough to claim infallibility for myself as a transcriber of Beethoven's hieroglyphics, nor that avoidance of more or less trivial errors will increase perceptibly the enjoyment of readers of Beethoven letters, but if the choice lies between incorrect and correct texts, the latter are preferable from any point of view. And certainly as the available fac-similes of Beethoven letters increase for a controlling reading of their texts, the easier it will become for compilers of complete editions of Beethoven's letters (and more incumbent on them) not to walk, as it were, in Indian file.

Originally the study of "Beethoven Letters in America" was planned by me as my contribution to a special Beethoven number of "The Musical Quarterly" in commemoration of Beethoven's death on March 26, 1827, but the work rapidly assumed proportions impossible for a magazine, unless the editor desired to allot to himself an inordinate amount of space, or adopted a method of condensation and omission which might defeat the purpose of his study. Harold Bauer, the President of the Beethoven Association, heard of my predicament, and ably seconded by Otto Kinkeldey, he obtained my consent that he suggest to the Beethoven Association the publication of this study in book-form. Thus, this little book really owes its existence as a book to those two friends of mine and, under the circumstances, they share the responsibility, if in the process of re-casting, I may not always have succeeded in obtaining the best balance of contents.

O. G. Sonneck.

New York, July 1, 1926.

BEETHOVEN LETTERS IN AMERICA

THE LETTERS BY APPELLATION, FIRST LINE AND PRESENT OWNERS

"Bester Graf! Sie werden mich in einem falschen Licht." Dated, Vienna, Nov. 1, 1088 [1808]. Written to Graf Oppersdorff. Signed.

First published in Marx' Beethoven Biography, 1863. Prelinger, No. 128.

Owned by Estate of Miss Amy Lowell, Harvard University.

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"Bester Hr. G-l l-t! Das Poenale ist hiermit geschlossen." Undated; probably January, 1817. No address. Written to S. A. Steiner. Signed.

First published by Thayer (German ed.), III, 499. Prelinger, No. 479.

Owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz coll.

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"Bester Span! Bestes Holz Christi! wo bleibt ihr." Dated, Baden, August 10 [1825]. No address. Written to Karl Holz. Signed.

First published in Deutsche Revue, June, 1898. Prelinger, No. 907.

Owned by the New York Public Library.

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"Bester Streicher! ich habe sie recht sehr." Undated; 179–? No address. Written to Johann Andreas Streicher. Signed.

Apparently unpublished.

Owned by Harold Bauer, New York.

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"Bester Z! ich muss sie um eine Gefälligkeit." Undated; probably 1799. Addressed to von Zmeskall. Signed.

First published by Frimmel, Neue Beethoveniana, 1888, p. 71. Prelinger, No. 10.

Owned by Dr. E. J. Keffer, Philadelphia.

"Bestes Holz Christi! Hier der klavier auszug zu 4 Händen." Undated, but May or June, 1826. No address. Signed.

Apparently unpublished.

Owned by Mr. Harold Randolph, Baltimore.

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"Das Poenale wird vermehrt." Undated; probably end of December, 1816. "An das G–l l–t Amt." Written to S. A. Steiner. Signed by Beethoven as "Der g—s."

First published in Frimmel's second Beethoven Jahrbuch, 1909. Prelinger, No. 1258.

Owned by Mr. Edgar Speyer, New York.

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"Der gestrige Vorfall, den Sie." Undated; probably July, 1823. Addressed to Schindler. Signed.

First published by Nohl, No. 282. Prelinger, No. 767, who credits the National Library, Berlin with this letter.

Owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz coll.

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"Der Unterzeichnete hegt den Wunsch." Dated, Vienna, January 23, 1823. Addressed to the Prussian Legation, Vienna. Only the signature is in Beethoven's hand.

Apparently unpublished.

Owned by Dr. Roderick Terry, Newport, R. I.

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"Die bejden Herren waren da." Undated; end of September, 1826. Written "Pour pr. conger Monsieur de Holz." Signed.

First published by Nohl, No. 380. Prelinger, No. 970.

Owned by Estate of Miss Amy Lowell, Harvard University.

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"Es geht schon besser." Undated; September, 1812. Addressed to Amalie Sebald. Signed.

First published by Otto Jahn in the Grenzboten, 1859. Prelinger, No. 236.

Owned by the New York Public Library.

"Euer Durchlaucht! Da ich vernommen, dass ich zu meiner Accademie." Dated, Vienna, March 21, 1824. No address, but most probably written to Prince Trautmannsdorf. Signed.

Except for the signature, the letter is not in Beethoven's hand, but probably in that of Schindler.

In this form *apparently unpublished.*

Owned by Dr. E. J. Keffer, Philadelphia.

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"Euer wohlgebohrn! Ich liege im Bette u. kann mich." Dated, Mödling, June 15, 1819. Address illegible; probably Oliva. Signed.

Apparently unpublished.

Owned by the Mrs. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Mass.

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"Euer wohlgebohrn! Ich melde ihnen nur, dass das Quartet." Dated, Saturday, August 19, 1826. Addressed to B. Schott Söhne, Mainz. Signed.

First published by Thayer (German ed.), V. 317. Prelinger, No. 1305.

Owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer coll.

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"Euer wohlgebohren! Mit Vergnügen bin ich bereit." Dated, Vienna, August 8th, without year. Possibly 1817 or 1818. Written probably to C. F. Müller. Signed.

First published in Dorow's Faksimiles, Berlin, 1838. Prelinger, No. 1129.

Owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, General coll.

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"Hr. Neate hat von mir im Monath juli 1816." Dated, Vienna, February 5, 1816. No address. Signed.

First published with the original German text by Richard Aldrich in the Zeitschrift of the I. M. G. 1913, No. 3. Not in Prelinger; Kastner-Kapp, No. 564.

Owned by Mr. Richard Aldrich, New York.

"Ich bin nicht wohl, lieber B." Undated. Addressed to Hr. von Brauchle. Signed. Summer of 1815.

First published by Alfred Schöne, 1867; Prelinger, No. 354.

Owned by the American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York, Courtlandt Palmer Collection.

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"Ich kann ihnen noch nichts bestimmtes." Undated, but September, 1812. Address "Für Amalie," i. e., Sebald. Signed.

First published by Otto Jahn in the Grenzboten, 1859. Prelinger, No. 239.

Owned by Mr. Hugo Riesenfeld, New York.

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"Liebe gute A: seit ich gestern von ihnen." Undated; not addressed, but written to Amalie Sebald in September, 1812. Signed.

First published in the Grenzboten by Otto Jahn in 1859. Prelinger, No. 234.

Owned by Mr. Frank Anderson, New York.

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"Lieber Streicher! Vorgestern erhielt ich ihr forte piano." Dated Pressburg, November 19, 1796. Addressed to Monsieur de Streicher. Signed.

Apparently unpublished.

Owned by Mr. Harold Bauer, New York.

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"Liederlicher Baron—ich hab' dich gestern umsonst erwartet." Undated, but certainly Fall of 1808. No address, but written to Baron von Gleichenstein. Unsigned.

First published in Westermann's Monatshefte, 1865, December; Prelinger, No. 123.

Owned by American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York, Courtlandt Palmer Collection.

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"Mein verehrter, hochwürdiger Herr! Sie haben wirklich sehr wohlgethan." Dated, February 6, 1826. No address, but written to Abbé Maximilian Stadler. Signed.

First published 1828 in facsimile in Schlosser's Beethoven biography. Prelinger, No. 939.

Owned by the late Franz Kneisel, New York.

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"Mein werther Herr! Rode hatte wohl in allem recht." Undated; written early in 1813 from Vienna. Addressed: An Seine Hochwohlgebohren Herrn Joseph von Warena [Varena] in Grätz. Signed.

First published in Frankl's Sonntagsblättern, 1845. Prelinger, No. 274.

Owned by Mr. Paul Warburg, New York.

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"Mein werther R! Schon vor langer Zeit hatte ich." Undated; written probably summer of 1815. Addressed: Für Seine Wohlgebohren Hr. von Ruprecht. Signed.

Apparently unpublished.

Owned by Mr. Paul Warburg, New York.

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"Quittung über 500 fl. welche ich vom Grafen Oppersdorf." A receipt, signed and dated, February 3, 1807.

Owned by the New England Conservatory, Boston.

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"Seine Hochwohlgebohren, seine des Hrn. von Zmeskall." Undated; possibly 1798. Addressed to him. Signed.

First published by Thayer (German ed.); Prelinger, No. 1196.

Owned by Library of Congress.

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"Sej so gut und sieh dass du das original." Undated, but probably February, 1809. Written to Baron von Gleichenstein. Unsigned. No address.

First published in Westermann's Monatshefte, 1865. Prelinger, No. 101.

Owned by Mr. John Bass, New York.

"Sie sehen, was hier erfolgt, wenn sie also hören." Undated, unsigned; no address, no appellation. Possibly written in January, 1820; perhaps to Dr. Joh. B. Bach.

Apparently unpublished.

Owned by Mr. Joseph Muller, Closter, N. J.

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"Sie verzeihen mir schon meine Zudringlichkeit." Dated, Vienna, December 1, 1819. Addressed to the banker Josef Ritter von Henickstein. Signed.

First published by Thayer (German ed.), 1907. Prelinger, No. 1273.

Owned by Mrs. Susan D. Herter Dakin, Scarborough on Hudson.

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"Sie werden, mein lieber Varena, nun." Dated, Vienna, July 23 [1815]. Written to Kammerprokurator Varena. Signed.

First published in Deutsche Revue, 1898. Prelinger, No. 362.

Owned by Harvard Musical Association, Boston.

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"Sobald die Correctur von der Sonate." Undated, but apparently June, 1823. Addressed to Diabelli. Signed.

First published by Nottebohm in the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 1870. Prelinger, No. 685.

Owned by the Estate of Rudolph E. Schirmer, New York.

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"Tyrann ich?! ihr Tyrann!" Dated, Töplitz, September 16, 1812. Addressed to Amalie Sebald. Signed.

First published by Otto Jahn in the Grenzboten, 1859. Prelinger, No. 233.

Owned by Mrs. Susan D. Herter Dakin, Scarborough on Hudson.

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"Votre Altesse. In ansehung der contestation Zeuner." Place, Baden. Undated, but summer of 1825. No address. Written to Prince Nicolas Boris Galitzin. Unsigned.

First published by Kalischer, No. 1094. Prelinger, No. 1291.

Owned by Mr. A. E. Norden, New York.

"Werther Freund. Sie haben mich neulich." Undated; between 1818 and 1820 and possibly May, 1818. Addressed to Graf Moritz Lichnowsky. Signed.

First published in the Montags Revue, Vienna, November, 12, 1900. Not in Prelinger; Kalischer-Frimmel, No. 781 as first half of May, 1818; Kastner-Kapp, No. 863.

Owned by the Library of Congress.

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"Wohlgebohrner [?] Adjutant. Ich habe nichts von dem röthlichen Unteroffizier gesehen." Addressed "An den H. Adjutanten Wohlgeboren," *i. e.*, Tobias Haslinger. Undated, but probably either December, 1816 or January, 1817. Instead of signature, half and quarter-notes.

First published in the Neue Berliner Musikzeitung, 1858, No. 2; Prelinger, No. 416.

Owned by Mrs. Louis F. Frank, Whitefish Bay, Wis.[1]

[1]This book was in page proof when end of November, Miss Thayer, Assistant Librarian of the Harvard Musical Association, called my attention to an undated, signed Beethoven letter owned by Mr. Malcolm Lang of Boston which was addressed in 1814 to Friedrich Treitschke about the revised version of *Fidelio*. The letter is printed as No. 421 in Kastner-Kapp and begins: "Mein werther T. Ihrem Rate zu folge war ich bej dem Architekten."

THE LETTERS
REPRODUCED IN FAC-SIMILE; TRANSCRIBED, TRANSLATED AND DISCUSSED.

In Order of Recipients.

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Dr. Johann Baptist Bach (doubtful) 1-6
Possibly January, 1820 (Sie sehen, was hier erfolgt).

Magister Brauchle 7-14
Summer of 1815 (Ich bin nicht wohl, lieber B.).

Anton Diabelli 15-38
June, 1823 (Sobald die Correctur von der Sonate).

Prince Nicolas Boris Galitzin 39-51
Summer of 1825 (In ansehung der contestation Zeuner).

Baron Ignaz von Gleichenstein 53-59
1. February, 1809 (Sej so gut und sieh).
2. Fall of 1808 (Ich hab' dich gestern umsonst).

Tobias Haslinger
See Steiner.

Josef Ritter von Henickstein 61-65
December 1, 1819 (Sie verzeihen mir schon meine Zudringlichkeit).

Karl Holz 67-81
1. August 10, 1825 (Wo bleibt ihr—ich blase).
2. End of September, 1826 (Die bejden Herren waren da).
3. May or June, 1826 (Hier der Klavier auszug zu 4 Händen).

Count Moritz Lichnowsky ix
Summer of 1818-20 (Sie haben mich neulich fragen).

Carl Friedrich Müller 83-85
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Charles Neate 87-90
February 5, 1816 (a receipt) (Hr. Neate hat von mir).

Franz Oliva 91-102
June 15, 1819 (Ich liege im Bette u. kann mich).

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Count Franz von Oppersdorff 103-116
1. February 3, 1807 (a receipt) (Quittung über 500 fl.).
2. November 1, 1808 (Sie werden mich in einem falschen).

Prussian Legation, Vienna 117-125
January 23, 1823 (Der Unterzeichnete hegt den Wunsch).

Johann Baptist Rupprecht 127-136
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Anton Schindler 137-141
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B. Schott Söhne 143-148
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Amalie Sebald 149-156
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September, 1812 (Seit ich gestern von ihnen ging).
September, 1812 (Es geht schon besser, liebe A.).
September, 1812 (Ich kann ihnen noch nichts).

Abbé Maximilian Stadler 157-163
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S. A. Steiner & Co. (and Tobias Haslinger) 165-179
1. Probably end of December, 1816 (Das Poenale wird vermehrt).
2. Probably January, 1817 (Das Poenale ist hiermit geschlossen).
3. Probably either December, 1816 or January, 1817 (Ich habe nichts von dem röthlichen Unteroffizier).

Johann Andreas Streicher 181-190
1. November 19, 1796 (Vorgestern erhielt ich ihr forte piano).
2. Probably 179– (Ich habe sie recht sehr um Verzeihung).

Fürst von Trautmannsdorf 191-197
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Josef von Varena 199-208

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2. July 23 [1815] (Sie werden, mein lieber Varena).

Baron Nikolaus Zmeskall 209-213

1. Probably 1799 (Ich muss sie um eine Gefälligkeit).
2. Possibly 1798 (Seine Hochwohlgebohren, seine des Hrn. von Zmeskall).

Dr. JOHANN BAPTIST BACH
(doubtful)

Dr. JOHANN BAPTIST BACH (?)

Sie sehn, was hier erfolgt, wenn sie also hören sollten dort, ob man uns heute um 5 uhr Nachmittags erwarten sollte, da ich ohne Begleitung nicht erscheinen kann, u. Sie auch selbst von allem unterrichtet sind, oder besser Montags um 5 uhr, da man gern ihnen alles in kürze vorlegen wolle—trift sie dieses schreiben nicht zu Hause, alsdann doch in ihrer Kanzlej, lassen sie mich wissen den Erfolg wissen, ob heute oder nachm [the m crossed out, leaving the word nachmittags unfinished and superimposing a question-mark] Montags.

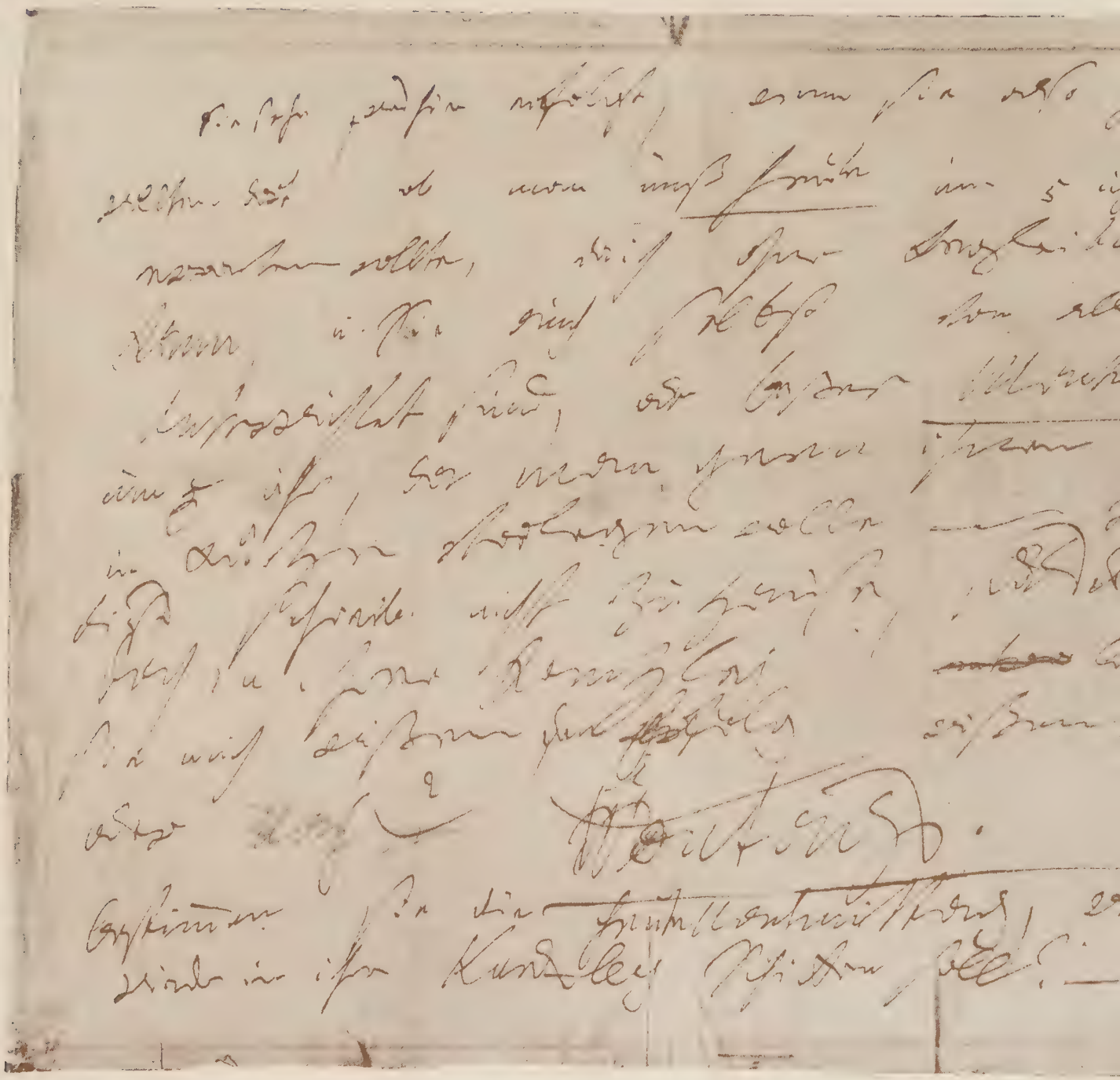
bestimen sie dies heute nachmittag, wann ich wieder in ihre Kanzlej Schicken soll?——

Translation

You see what here follows. Hence, if you should hear there whether we are expected to-day at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, since I can't appear without a companion, and you are also informed of everything, or better on Monday at 5 o'clock, because one would like to submit everything briefly to you—if this letter does not find you at home, then surely in your office. Let me know the result, whether to-day or after ? on Monday.

decide that this afternoon, when I shall send again to your office?——

Though unsigned, this jumbled letter was written by Beethoven's hand—at its worst. That made neither for a correct transcript nor, in consequence, for a satisfactory translation. Unsigned, undated, without address or appellation, the letter contains perhaps only one clue for ascribing it to a recipient. That word is "Kanzlej," the equivalent of a lawyer's office. For that reason and no other it has here been printed—arbitrarily—under the name of Dr. Johann Baptist Bach, but possibly Beethoven specialists of the calibre of Theodor von Frimmel or Max Unger would prefer to consider the letter addressed to Dr. Karl Edler von Adlersburg who acted as Beethoven's counsel during the years 1814-15, principally in his controversy with Maelzel of Metronome fame about the legal rights in Beethoven's Op. 91 "Wellington's Victory or The Battle of Victoria" or as addressed to some other lawyer with whom the composer had dealings.





Apparently the letter is unpublished; at any rate it appears neither in Kastner's check-list nor in Kastner-Kapp's edition of Beethoven's letters. If the opening words "you see, what here follows" present a correct reading, they argue for the impression that the letter merely accompanied another letter on a subject then under discussion between Beethoven and his legal adviser. If the wholly arbitrary choice of Dr. Bach should turn out to have been a good guess, then we probably should find ourselves—perhaps in January, 1820—in the midst of the bitter legal proceedings between Beethoven and the Court of Magistrates concerning the guardianship of nephew Karl van Beethoven. Dr. Bach's restraining influence on Beethoven and his able presentation of his client's case before the Court of Appeals led to final victory early in 1820. In his jubilation Beethoven wrote to Pinterics, private secretary of Count Palffy: "Dr. Bach represented me in this affair and this Brook (*Bach*) was joined by the sea with lightning, thunder and a tempest and the magistrate's brigantine suffered complete shipwreck." But—as Thayer says—at what a cost to himself, his art, the world!

This letter of certain authorship but uncertain destination forms part of Mr. Joseph Muller's collection of some four thousand portraits and seven hundred or more autograph letters of famous musicians, a collection persistently and competently built up during the last twenty-five years out of moderate means to its present staggering richness. Mr. Muller's treasures include also a canon by Beethoven, which until very recently had remained utterly unknown to Beethoven biographers, editors and collectors. For that reason I can not resist the temptation to print it here in slightly reduced facsimile, by courtesy of Mr. Muller. The canon was first reproduced in the November 1, 1925 number of the "Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung," practically a number in honor and in praise of the charming town of Mödling, about ten miles from Vienna and "die Brühl" woods just a little farther. On "Beethoven in Mödling" naturally Theodor von Frimmel was the one to contribute an authoritative article, since on that subject the distinguished Beethoven-scholar had repeatedly recorded the results of his research in his various publications.

As early as 1799 Beethoven had felt attracted to Mödling and the Brühl, in his time certainly more picturesque and romantic as a country-resort than now, as a modern suburb of the metropolis. The date is fairly certain because in that year

Beethoven wrote to his friend Amenda that he had accepted an invitation to spend a few days at Mödling. Here was also the estate of the Herr von Malfatti and about ten years later, Therese von Malfatti being the main attraction, Beethoven again spent some time at Mödling and not merely as an excursionist. In 1815 the warm curative springs were re-opened and this probably acted as a further inducement for the composer to spend the summers of 1818 to 1820 at Mödling, the first two at the "Hafnerhaus," the third at the "Christhof." Mödling and the Brühl were a walker's paradise and since walking, rapid and strenuous walking, in weather clement or inclement, was practically Beethoven's only sport, it is not surprising that for a time the desire took hold of him to own a house in the Brühl or in Mödling proper.

If Frimmel says that the master felt relatively well during his three summers at Mödling, emphasis may be laid on the adverb relatively. At any rate, the letter reproduced and discussed later under Oliva shows that Beethoven had his spells of illness at Mödling, too. Indeed, for a man who made on his visitors an impression of enviable physical robustness and whose pedestrian exercise would have ordinarily kept any man "fit," the complaints about this or that kind of illness in his letters are distressingly frequent. Not being a medical man, I can only voice my suspicion that for Beethoven's frequent intestinal troubles not always his digestive organs were at fault, but the kind of food he ate. If he, for instance, in the Conversation-books more than once looked forward with culinary enthusiasm to "Venetian oysters shipped to Vienna by extra-post" (and in those days they surely were not shipped on ice), he could not but pay the penalty for such folly. However, Mödling, generally speaking, agreed with him and here it was that the "Missa Solemnis," the Pianoforte Sonata, Op. 106 and other works took shape. We have a pen-picture of Beethoven in Mödling in his own words, when he wrote to his friend Hauschka soon after his arrival there in May, 1818: "as for myself, I wander about here in the mountains, clefts and valleys with a piece of music-paper and smear down sundry things for the sake of bread and money—for to such a pitch have I brought it in this all-powerful land of the Phæacians that to gain time for a big work, I must always first smear such a lot for money so that I may stand it for a big work." And August von Kloeber who painted in that same summer his unfortunately lost full-length portrait of Beethoven under rather trying conditions—the composer was too impatient a

"sitter"—has left this oft repeated description of the peripatetic composer:

On my walks in Mödling I met Beethoven repeatedly and it was most interesting to see him, with a sheet of music-paper and a pencil-stump in his hands, stop frequently as if listening, look up and down and then scribble notes on the paper. Dont [violoncellist and father of the violinist of the same name. It was he who had introduced Kloeber to Beethoven] had warned me, when meeting him on such occasions, never to address or notice him, because he would then become either embarrassed or disagreeable. Once, just when I was sketching a piece of woods, I saw him climb up a hill from the hollow which separated us, with his broad-rimmed grey felt-hat pressed under the arm; arrived up there, he threw himself down under a pine-tree at full length and for a long time stared heavenwards.

The description of the lost portrait in the Wiener Modenzeitung of November 19, 1818—Beethoven in his left hand a sketch-book, in his right a pencil, with eyes turned to higher regions; under a tree, with a bit of Mödling landscape in the background, nephew Karl stretched out in a *dolce far niente*—tallies practically with the above snapshot of Kloeber who continued:

Beethoven's residence in Mödling was extremely simple, as, indeed, was his whole nature; his garments consisted of a light-blue frockcoat with yellow buttons, white waistcoat and necktie, as was the fashion at the time, but everything much neglected. His complexion was healthy and tough, the skin somewhat pockmarked, his hair had the color of bluish steel, as it was already beginning to turn from black to gray. His eyes were bluish-gray and most animated. When his hair was tossed by the wind, there was really something Ossianic-demoniac about him. In friendly conversation, however, his expression became good-natured and gentle, particularly if the conversation pleased him. Every mood of his soul instantly expressed itself powerfully in his features.

It was at Mödling that Beethoven mingled with the village-musicians at the inn "Zu den zwei Raben" and composed for their dance-repertoire those long lost Waltzes, Minuets and Ländler of "striking beauty and masterly instrumentation" which Riemann rediscovered about 1907 in instrumental parts in the archives of the Thomas Schule in Leipzig. It was also during an occasional excursion to Mödling that he jotted down on a piece of music-paper with a pencil-stump—the friendship-

canon "in der Brühl 1814 am 20ten September" which found its way to idyllic Closter, N. J. When the art-dealer Heck of Vienna offered this Beethoven tid-bit in his catalogue for 1800 Swiss francs, he ventured the plausible surmise that probably this three-part canon was written for the unnamed friend to whom Beethoven alluded as follows in a letter to Count Moritz Lichnowsky of date Baden, September 21, 1814 (characteristically enough misdating the year 1841): "Yesterday I took a beautiful walk with a friend in the Brühl and our friendly conversation mentioned you, too, particularly." Here is the fac-simile of the canon.



MAGISTER BRAUCHLE

MAGISTER BRAUCHLE

Ich bin nicht wohl lieber B., doch sobald ich mich besser befinde, besuche ich sie—Verdriesslich über vieles, empfindlicher als alle anderen Menschen, und mit der Plage meines Gehörs finde ich oft im Umgange anderer Menschen nur Schmerzen—ich hoffe, dass unsere liebe Gräfin sich imer besser befindet. Dem Violoncello lassen sie einen Kugelhupf in Form eines Violonschells backen, damit er sich drauf üben kann, wenn auch nicht die Finger jedoch den Magen und das Maul.—sobald ich kann, kome ich auf einige Täge zu ihnen—ich werde die beiden Violonschel [!] Sonaten mitbringen—leben sie wohl—alle 3 Kinder küsse und umarme ich in gedanken—das Ober amt steht ebenfalls mit oben an bej mir.—

leben sie wohl lieber B. alles schöne u. gute der Gräfin für ihr Heil.

ihr
Beethoven

(Address): Für Hr.
von Brauchle

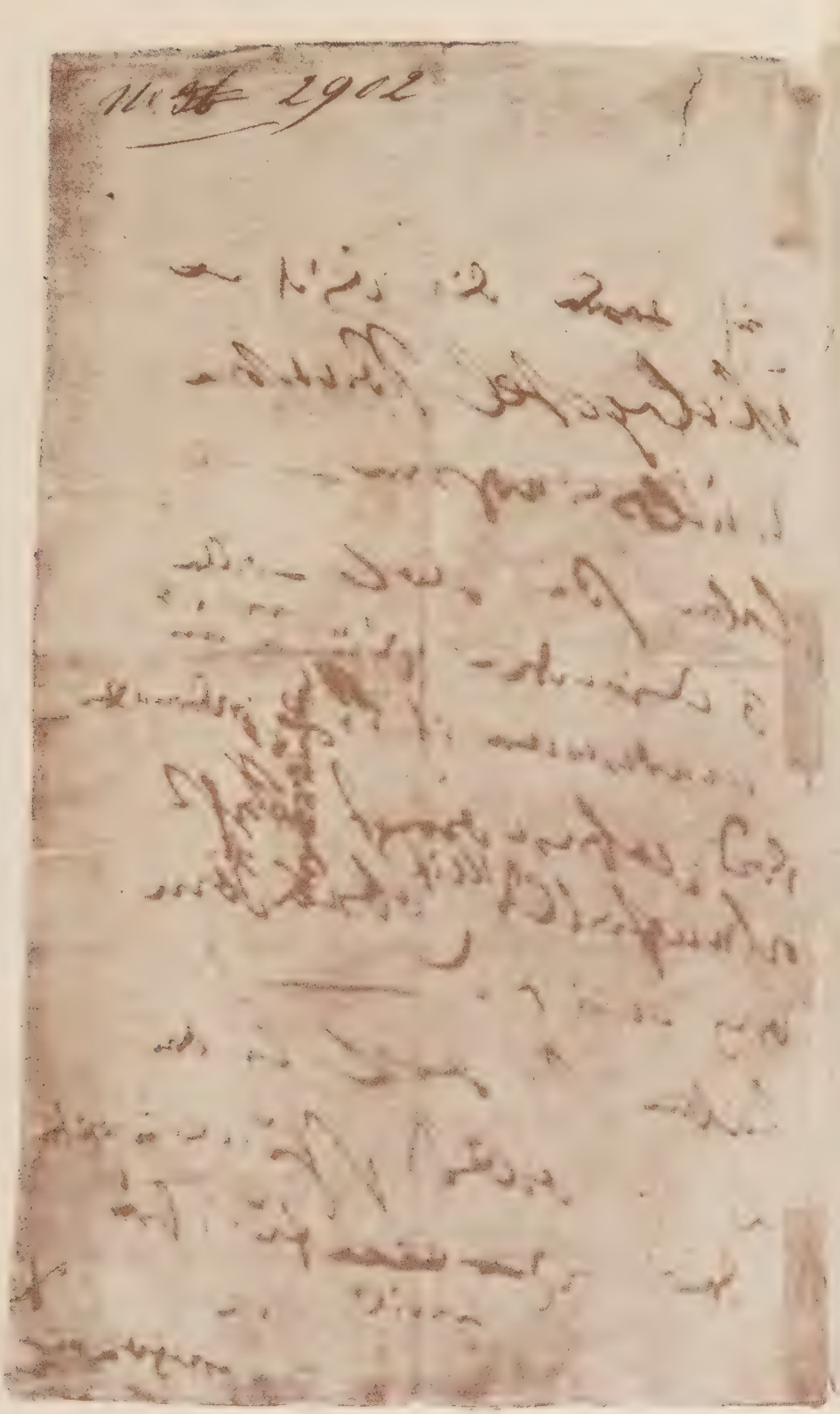
Translation

I am not well, dear B., but as soon as I feel better, I shall visit you. In ill-humor over much, more sensitive than the rest of mankind and with the plague of my hearing I often in the intercourse with other human beings find only *pain*—I hope that our dear Countess is steadily improving in health. Have for the Violoncello a *Kugelhupf* baked in form of a violoncello that he may practice on it, if not his fingers, then his stomach and mouth.—as soon as I can, I shall come to you for some days—I shall bring along the two Violoncello sonatas—fare well—all three children I kiss and embrace in thought—the chief-office also stands on top with me.—

good-bye, dear B. everything beautiful and good to the Countess for her welfare.

Yours
Beethoven

For Hr.
von Brauchle



This letter is one of several written to Magister Brauchle, tutor and music-master of the children of Countess Anna *Marie* Erdödy, née Countess Niczky and wife of the Hungarian magnate Count Peter Erdödy. It stands in direct relation to Beethoven's letters to Countess Erdödy at her estate Jedlersee during the summer of 1815. All in all, including earlier and later ones, only thirteen letters to the Countess and seven to Brauchle have been preserved and they not all in the originals. Most of the latter seem to have passed into the possession of the widow Brauchle after the death of the Countess in 1837, but Frau Brauchle saw fit to destroy the correspondence, so she informed Ludwig Nohl during an interview many years later. Only three of the letters—other than the one here under discussion—were hitherto known to have escaped the holocaust, and one of them a charming letter to the Countess presented by Frau Brauchle to the composer Ignatz Lachner. Nohl's story forms the basis of the remark in Kalischer, Prelinger, Shedlock-Hull and others that with *one* exception all the autographs of the Erdödy-Brauchle correspondence were burnt. The presence of the autograph letter in the Courtlandt Palmer collection at the American Academy of Arts and Letters tends to discredit Nohl's story and refutes it at least in part.[1]

The letter has repeatedly been printed, but always with the characteristic omission of the word "amt" after "Ober," thus proving that publication took place at second and third hand from the copy originally made by Otto Jahn under amusing circumstances narrated by him in 1860 to Thayer. The episode does not compensate for the action of Frau Brauchle, pyro-maniac, if she really did destroy the letters in her possession, but in a way put the joke on her and frustrated any attempt of hers to withhold the correspondence from posterity. About 1852 Jahn learned that the Brauchle-Erdödy correspondence had remained in possession of widow Brauchle. She permitted him to read the letters in her presence. It took Jahn but a few seconds to know that he had struck a vein of epistolary gold. Suddenly he jumped up, exclaiming "I shall copy this at my hotel" and before the widow had recovered from her shock of terror and surprise, Jahn was on his way to transcribe the whole series of letters! He did not publish them, however, himself, but gave permission to do so

[1]This is corroborated by a remark of Kalischer's shortly before his death, in the chapter on Countess Erdödy in his collection of essays "Beethoven's Frauenkreis" to the effect that Dr. A. Ebert had discovered the supposedly destroyed letters in the hands of an old governess of the Erdödy family who absolutely refused to let him publish them.

in a special monograph in 1867 to Dr. Alfred Schöne. From that time on the series of letters written by Beethoven to Brauchle and Countess Erdödy very properly has come to be considered one of the most attractive in the master's entire correspondence and I can't see the wisdom of Dr. Hull in extending his acceptance of the proposal to publish a *selection* of Shedlock's translation of Kalischer's edition of Beethoven's letters, to the Brauchle-Erdödy correspondence. However, once he had decided on a selection, his omission of this particular letter became a matter of editorial preference.

Magister Brauchle seems to appear on the scene of Beethoven's life by way of Schindler's biography. Eloquently defending his choice of Countess Giulietta Guicciardi as Beethoven's "immortal Beloved" and describing Beethoven's rejection in 1803, he tells the anecdote that Beethoven in his despair sought comfort for a few days in the company of his approved and particularly respected friend Countess Marie Erdödy at her country-seat at Jedlersee. Suddenly he disappeared and the Countess thought he had returned to Vienna when three days later her music-master Brauchle discovered him in a distant part of the palace garden. The incident was long kept a close secret; it was associated with a suspicion that it had been the purpose of the unhappy man to starve himself to death.

To this melodramatic touch Schindler adds that those friends who made close observation of the attitude of Beethoven towards the music-master, noticed that he treated him with extraordinary attention thereafter. The story is too good to be true. Beethoven from time to time, when the clouds of trouble hovered over him, did momentarily think of suicide and in his very letters to Countess of Erdödy brooded about approaching death, but Beethoven in the rôle of a love-sick swain bent on suicide by a dietary route is ludicrous. Thayer laughs the story out of court, at least with reference to the "immortal Beloved" and in his quietly critical way points out that Brauchle cannot very well have been the tutor of the Erdödy children as early as 1803 and that, indeed, Beethoven's friendship with the Countess is not known to date from that year.

The acquaintance of Beethoven with the Countess Erdödy soon ripened into mutual fondness and warm friendship. This led the Countess in 1808 to allow her sympathy with her friend's domestic perplexities to outrun her judgment. At her suggestion Beethoven moved into her palace but soon the composer's usual troubles with his servant began and the

Countess offended Beethoven by bribing the domestic behind his master's back in order to keep peace between the two. Then a very much more serious dissension ensued, the cause of which we do not know, and Beethoven, feeling himself wholly at fault in the matter, wrote this undated letter of contrite apology to Countess Erdödy. It ranks with the manliest and finest in his whole correspondence. In Thayer's translation the letter—it is not in Shedlock-Hull—reads:

My dear Countess:

I have erred, that is true—forgive me, it was assuredly not intentional malice on my part, if I have pained you—only since last night do I know the truth about the matter, and I am very sorry that I acted as I did—read your billet coolly and judge for yourself if I deserve all and if you did not pay me back six-fold since I offended you unintentionally; send my note back to me to-day, and write me only one word that you are no longer angry, I shall suffer infinitely if you do not do this. I can do nothing if things are to continue thus—I await your forgiveness.

As on other occasions a reconciliation with his "father confessor" as he called the Countess, very soon took place, but before many months of 1809 had passed, Beethoven preferred his independence to the hospitality of the Erdödys. It was while Beethoven was still living with them that Reichardt, Kapellmeister, composer and feuilletonist met Beethoven repeatedly there. He recorded his impressions promptly in his "Intimate Letters," rather famous in their day and even now readable, if one but succeeds in forgetting Reichardt's vanity and sentimentality. On New Year's Eve he was present when, with Beethoven at the piano, the Trios, Op. 70, written at her home and dedicated to the Countess, found their first enthusiastic audience. A few weeks before, on December 5, 1808, he drew this pen-picture of the Countess:

Imagine a very pretty, fine little woman in her twenty-fifth year [*recte* twenty-ninth, since she was born in 1779] who was married in her fifteenth year [*recte* in 1796] and from her first confinement [in 1799] retained an incurable disease, who for the last ten years has not been able to leave her bed for more than two or three months, but nevertheless gave birth to three healthy, dear children who cling to her like burs; whose sole entertainment was found in music; who plays Beethoven's things quite respectably and limps with still swollen feet from one Fortepiano to another, yet is so merry, so friendly and so good—all that often

saddened me during an otherwise joyous meal for us six or eight good musical souls.

Thayer, when referring to this "intimate letter" discounts Reichardt's exaggeration about the disease and continues:

There is nothing to show how or when the very great intimacy between the Countess and Beethoven began; but for many years she is prominent among the most useful and valued of his many female friends, and it is not at all improbable that the vicinity of the Erdödy estate at Jedlersee am Marchfelde was one reason for his frequent choice of summer lodgings in the villages on the Danube, north of the city. This intercourse was at length (about 1820) abruptly terminated by the banishment for life of the Countess beyond the limits of the Austrian Empire—unhappily, for reasons that cannot be impugned. It is a sad and revolting story, over which a veil may be drawn. There is no necessity, arising from Beethoven's relations to her, to give it now the publicity which was then so carefully and effectually avoided. It is even possible that Beethoven's heart was never wrung by a knowledge of the particulars.[1]

A temporary lull in his intercourse with the Erdödys appears to have occurred sometime after 1811: in a letter of end of February, 1815, he expresses his gratification at her renewal of her friendly sentiments towards him. Indeed, Beethoven had every reason to treasure the friendship of Countess Erdödy since he owed to her initiative, it seems, the annuity of 4000 fl. a year, pledged to him jointly by Archduke Rudolph, Prince Lobkowitz and Prince Kinsky on March 1, 1809, in order to hold Beethoven in Vienna and prevent his acceptance of the offer of the King of Westphalia in 1808 to become his Court-Chapelmaster. One must know these currents and undercurrents in his life to get the full flavor of even so short a letter, half sad, half humorous, to Magister Brauchle in the summer of 1815. The Countess sent him an invitation to join her family and her friends at Jedlersee. This invitation she humorously addressed in form of an ode "To His Laurel-Crowned Majesty of the Exalted Art of Tone, Ludwig v. Beethoven," but, as the reader may find it conveniently in Shedlock-Hull, I prefer to quote here another "poetic" invitation not in Shedlock-Hull, but taken over from Schöne into the German edition of Thayer,

[1]In this Thayer was mistaken. Kalischer in "Beethoven's Frauenkreis" points out that in a Conversations-Heft of July or August, 1820, the tragedy was discussed by Beethoven and his friends, though in a rather unintelligible manner. Mr. de Hevery in his book "Beethoven. Vieintime" (1926) records some of the horrible details of the domestic tragedy from Secret Service archives.

and equally helpful in identifying the remaining *dramatis personæ* in the Brauchle letter:

Ich kam von Jedlersee als Both
Zum ersten Composteur nach Gott,
Der Gräfin von Erdödy Gnaden
Lässt Sie zum Punsche laden,
Und was das Land noch sonsten beut.
Der Wagen steht zweispännig schon bereit,
Um Sie mit mir dahin zu fahren,
Bis halb zwei Uhr werd' ich Ihrer harren.

den 20. Juli, 1815. Sperl
Oberamtmann.

Here, then, we have the "Oberamt" in person of this important member of the Erdödy household, Chief-magistrate Sperl. As for the "Violoncello" for whom a "Kugelhupf"—a kind of Austrian pastry—was to be baked in form of a violoncello, his identity is plainly that of the lame 'cellist Joseph Linke, a frequent guest of the Erdödys, member of the Schuppanzigh Quartet and esteemed as an artist by Beethoven. The two Violoncello Sonatas which Beethoven promised to bring along were the two sonatas, Op. 102, composed in July and August, 1815, and published in 1817 without dedication by Simrock, but again in 1819 by Artaria with dedication to the Countess Erdödy.

Beethoven was compelled by circumstances to decline or delay his visit to Jedlersee and it is significant for his considerate attitude towards the Countess that he gave to his declination a humorous twist without mentioning his ill-health as he had done in his letter to Brauchle. If "His Laurel-Crowned Majesty of the Exalted Art of Tone" did go to Jedlersee, he probably deferred the visit until end of July or beginning of August. A few months later his personal intercourse with the Erdödys ceased: towards the end of October, 1815, his friends left for their estates in Croatia never to return to Vienna.[1] Beethoven, however, continued to correspond with the Countess. One of his most touching letters he wrote to her on May 15, 1816, on the news of the sudden and tragic death of her son Fritzi and another of December 19, 1819, was the forerunner of his New Year's canon for the Countess "Glück, Glück zum neuen Jahr."

[1]This statement, based on Thayer, Mr. de Hevesy's book proved to be wrong. The Countess, with her daughter, Brauchle and her dog *Fidelio* did return several years later, her return having to do with her domestic tragedy.

In conclusion a question: does, perhaps, the Isis-temple still exist which, according to Schindler, the Countess erected in the park of one of the Erdödy castles in Hungary in honor of her great teacher and friend with a inscription of homage to his art? It is that Isis-temple to which Beethoven beautifully referred at the end of his letter of October 19, 1815, to the Countess when she was about to depart for Croatia: "God give you further strength to arrive at your *Isis-temple*, where the purified fire may absorb all your ills and you may awake as a new Phœnix."

ANTON DIABELLI

ANTON DIABELLI

Sobald die Correctur von der sonate vollendet, senden sie mir selbe samt Französischen E. wieder zu—wegen dem Metronom nächstens—sehen sie gefälligst selbst etwas nach, denn meine Augen können es kaum noch ertragen, ohne Schaden etwas nachzusehen.—

Ihr Freund
Beethoven

Die noch die Variationen
betreffende Correctur ersuche
mitzuschicken.
(Address side) für Hr. v. Diabelli

Translation

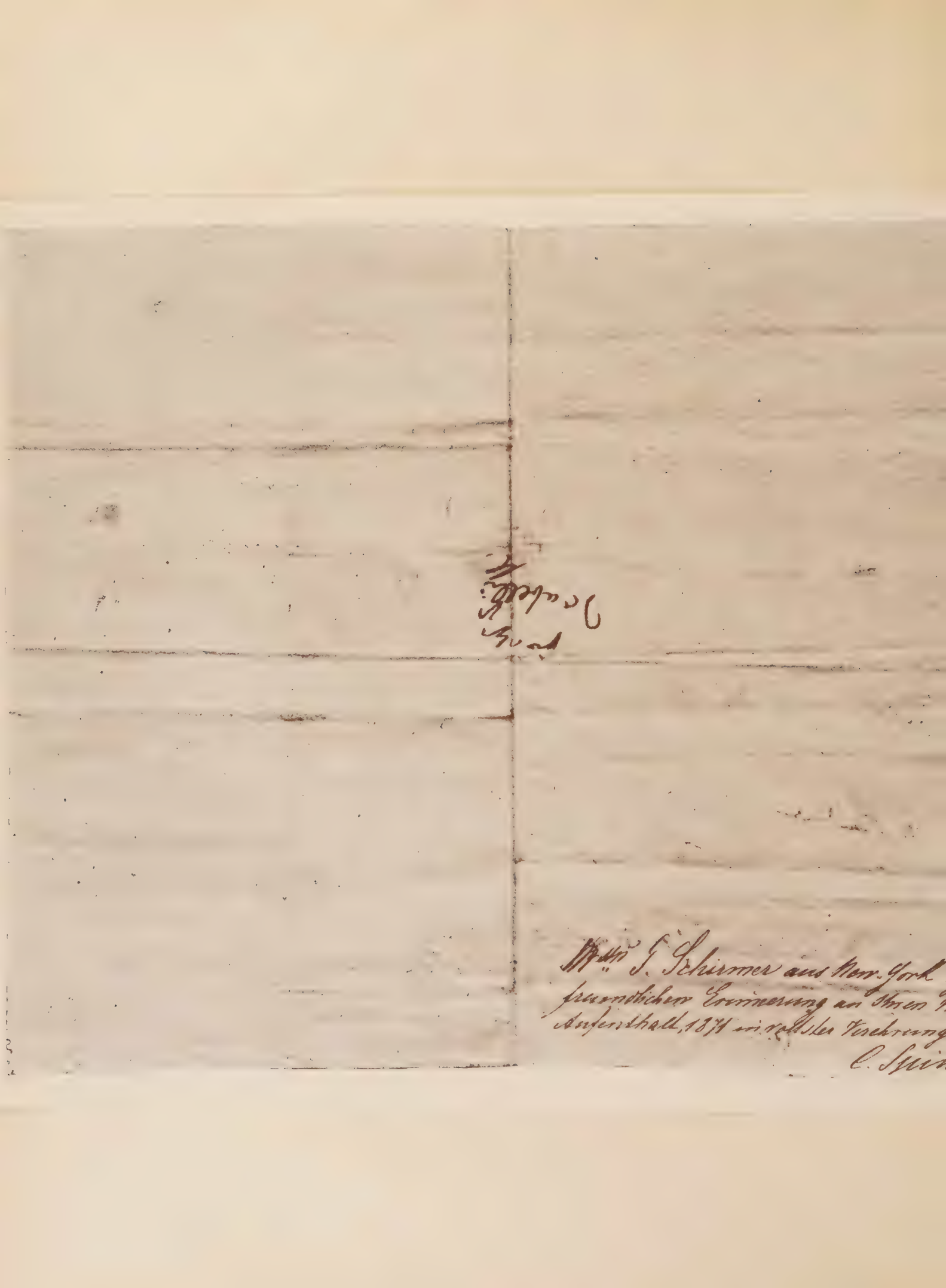
As soon as the correction [of the proofs] of the sonata is finished, send it back to me together with the French E.—about the metronome soon—please look over [the proofs] a little yourself because my eyes can hardly stand it any longer to look anything over without injury.—

Your friend
Beethoven

The rest of the correction
concerning the Variations I
request to send along, too.
(Address side) for Hr. v. Diabelli

This dry-as-dust letter to Anton Diabelli of the firm of Cappi & Diabelli, has given food for thought to more than one scholar, but I prefer to reach my own conclusions in my own way.

Apparently the letter was first published with a very brief foot-note by Nottebohm in the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung in 1870. On later occasions Frimmel and others printed it, as if forming the shorter part of an undated letter to Diabelli which begins "Lieber D—! Geduld! Noch bin ich nicht" and ends "Lebt wohl, sehr Bester. Der Eurigste B—n." They disregarded more or less the (supposed) shorter part and occupied themselves with the longer part only, because it throws light on the history of the famous, but nevertheless woefully neglected, 33 Variations for piano on a waltz



by Diabelli, Op. 120. As to the date of the (supposed) twin-letter, these authorities disagreed. Kalischer has (1822?) and Shedlock-Hull, of course, copy that date. Prelinger places it in the fall of that year; Frimmel (in "Neue Beethoveniana") gives October, 1822. According to Kalischer, the letter belonged in 1870, together with other Beethoven letters written to Diabelli, to C. A. Spina in Vienna who acquired Diabelli's business in 1852. Prelinger in his "Notes" (5th vol., 1911) says that the autograph is in possession of Dr. Heinrich Steger of Vienna. Since the shorter part of the twin-letter seemed to require some comment, he added: "The Sonata apparently referred to in this letter, is the one in C minor, Op. 111, published by Schlesinger in April, 1823."

Well, the shorter part of this (supposed) twin-letter certainly is not in possession of Dr. Steger and never was! The proof of this statement is furnished by the letter itself: the address-side of the letter-sheet, nicely folded in four and slightly torn when breaking the still visible red seal, is blank except for Diabelli's name with an uncertain word preceding it and in the lower right-hand corner the words "M^{ons} G. Schirmer aus New York zur freundlichen Erinnerung an Ihren Wiener Aufenthalt 1871 in vollster Verehrung C. Spina." In other words, C. Spina in 1871 made a present of this Beethoven autograph to Gustave Schirmer, founder of G. Schirmer, Inc., from whom his late son Rudolph E. Schirmer inherited it.

One would hardly wish to accuse Spina of the vandalism of having separated the Schirmer part of the letter from its better half. There is nothing to indicate that the Schirmer letter is not complete in itself. Hence, instead of one Beethoven letter, we must reckon with two and the conjecture suggests itself that these two letters, both undated, were kept together until 1871, simply because they dealt, more or less, with the same subject. They have in common the references to the Variations, Op. 120—but these references belong to different months, if not to two different years. Nottebohm was the first to separate the supposed Siamese twins, dating the first letter "end of 1822 or very early in the year 1823" and the Schirmer letter, May, 1823. Riemann agreed in the German edition of Thayer with Nottebohm's separation, but preferred "end of the year 1822" for the first. Kastner-Kapp, on the other hand, while printing both letters separately, dates complacently both 1823. Frimmel in his first Beethoven Jahrbuch and in "Die Musik" (1902) prints the first letter as belonging to Dr. Steger and as probably of October, 1822, but

does not print the other. The following pages contain reasons for disagreeing even with Nottebohm and Riemann on the date of the Schirmer letter.

To repeat here as much of it as is necessary, the amusing history of this *tour de force* of variations on a mediocre waltz-theme by Diabelli which Beethoven himself called a *Schusterfleck* (cobbler's patch): Diabelli, having composed this waltz, conceived the idea of commissioning a large number of the favorite composers of the day to compose one variation each on his melody. Diabelli cannot have conceived the plan later than March, 1821, because the autograph of Schubert's contribution, according to Nottebohm, bears that date. He also invited Beethoven, but Beethoven remembered his unpleasant experiences in 1808 when he contributed a setting of "In questa tomba" to a similar conglomeration, and declined to participate. Instead, an agreement was later on reached between Diabelli and Beethoven whereby the latter promised to compose a special set of variations all his own. The six or seven perhaps originally expected by Diabelli, to his dismay finally increased to thirty-three, because of Beethoven's delight in showing what he could do with so unpromising a theme.[1] Evidence exists proving that the work was finished at last and to the relief of the impatient Diabelli by May, 1823. At any rate, the Wiener Zeitung advertised it on June 16, 1823, as published. In the same announcement Diabelli, in behalf of his firm, Cappi and Diabelli, expressed pride in having suggested the idea to Beethoven, whose Op. 120, however, formed only the first part of the "Veränderungen für das Pianoforte über ein vorgelegtes Thema, componirt von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern und Virtuosen Wien's und den K. K. Österreichischen Staaten." According to Nottebohm, Cappi and Diabelli published also (in 1824) a second part of the collection with so

[1]Amused by Diabelli's impatience, Beethoven turned the twenty-second variation into a kind of parody of Leporello's "Notte e giorno faticar" in Mozart's "Don Giovanni." I mention this for the benefit of those who write on humor in music and those who know the beginning of the "Meistersinger" overture by heart I refer to the first two measures of the first variation.

Pianists interested in this formidable publication of 83 variations, including one by young Liszt, will find a comprehensive article on it by Heinrich Rietsch in Frimmel's first Beethoven Jahrbuch, 1908.

In passing, it may be mentioned that Diabelli came near losing the opportunity for publishing the Variations, Op. 120. At the time that he appears on the horizon as one of several publishers to obtain the rights in the "Missa Solemnis"—either late in 1822 or early in 1823—he seems somehow to have aroused the displeasure of Beethoven, whereupon the composer penned this undated note and ultimatum to Schindler: "I see from my note-book that you doubt the matter with reference to the Mass and Diabelli. Therefore, I request that you come soon. Because one shall then not give him the Variations either, since my brother knows a party who will take both works. Therefore, one can talk matters over with him."

formidable a title: it consisted of fifty variations by fifty other composers!!

But when were the 33 variations composed? We know from Beethoven's sketch-books that the variations occupied him in 1822 at different times and, curiously enough, the thirty-second variation he sketched end of that year, long before he interested himself in lower-numbered variations. If Nottebohm conjectured from Beethoven's allusion to "Grosse veränderungen über einen bekannten Deutschen" [*scil.* Walzer] in a letter to Simrock on February 10, 1820, that he can only have meant the Diabelli variations, Op. 120, Riemann rightly hesitated to accept this hypothesis, plausible though it looks. On the other hand, if Beethoven could offer among other things "variations on a waltz for pianoforte solo (there are many)" to the Leipzig publisher C. F. Peters for 30 ducats in his letter of June 5, 1822, possibly at least a few of the Diabelli variations were actually composed by then. A few, though Beethoven occasionally, when under financial pressure, would offer to publishers compositions which existed only in his imagination and not on paper, or in an unfinished condition.

Beethoven, it must always be remembered, lived largely by his pen. He relied, as would any other routined composer under similar circumstances, on his ability to complete in his mind and put on paper such enticing morsels in ample time for contractual delivery. Misled by Beethoven's habit to record in his sketch-books for future use or not any idea that might come to him and to arrive by careful processes of selection, elimination or remolding at the final form of an idea as best for his constructive purposes, some silly critic started the legend that Beethoven was a very slow worker, that he lacked spontaneous inspiration and that his genius only consisted in an infinite capacity for taking pains. Such imbecility about him whose genial, unsurpassed improvisations so astonished and impressed his contemporaries! That legend represents the truth only insofar as he *did* take infinite pains—every genius does, though not every genius' method of workmanship leaves such visible traces of the "infinite pains" as does Beethoven's—but actually he worked with remarkable rapidity and sustained "inspiration," once he had determined the final plan of important works, often composing two or more simultaneously. But even Beethoven's confidence in his speed did not always save the day for him. He did not always succeed in keeping his contractual promises, either because of tardiness of his copyists or spells of illness which interfered with his work or other reasons.

If things went wrong, partly through the fault of others, he would naïvely protest his own reliability in matters of business and would heap all the blame on whoever had a part in the embarrassing situation. As he did on Schindler precisely in the case of the Diabelli variations, when his plan to get them published in England through Ferdinand Ries sooner than in Vienna went awry. In his explanatory letter of September 5, 1823, to Ries he exploded "but everything went through Schindler; a more miserable creature on God's earth I have not known, an arch-scoundrel whom I have dismissed" —Schindler without whose not always wise, but dog-like and intelligent devotion as *famulus*, poor Beethoven, confessedly "no business man" and "thanks be to God, a layman in all speculations," probably would have blundered more often than he did. Needless to say, the storms of wrath soon passed and the indispensable "arch-scoundrel" entered again into the master's good graces. As for offering Peters the variations on Diabelli's waltz,—if they really were the ones he offered—it does not at all follow that he double-crossed Diabelli. Quite possibly Beethoven, after his rejection of Diabelli's offer, had begun to entertain himself with variations of his own on Diabelli's waltz. These he might have offered in all propriety to Peters before finally reaching his agreement with Diabelli.

Right here the consideration of the first Diabelli letter may be resumed. In that epistle Beethoven says towards the end "I hope to be able to get at your variations by end of next week" and at the beginning he writes "The honorarium for the Variations would be 40 ducats at most, in case they are executed on the large scale planned by me ("im Falle, sie so gross ausgeführt werden, als die Anlage davon ist"). Obviously, Beethoven was very far from completion of the work! Hence, 1823 begins to look very doubtful as the proper date of that communication to Diabelli. Indeed, it becomes impossible for other reasons contained in its text.

After having told Diabelli that if the Variations did not assume the planned proportions, his price would be lower, he proceeds to offer Diabelli the Overture and other numbers of "Die Weihe des Hauses" and a "Gratulations-Menuett" for orchestra. This orchestral piece is known to have been composed just prior to the first performance on November 3, 1822, at a surprise-party given in honor of Director Hensler of the new Josephstadt Theater by the members of his company. Secondly, the opening of the Josephstadt Theater took place on October 3, 1822. For that occasion Beethoven had been

commissioned on short notice to compose the music. He utilized in part his earlier music for the "Ruins of Athens" but composed a new overture, the one known under the title of "Die Weihe des Hauses" ("The Consecration of the House").

A third argument against the year 1823, presents itself in Beethoven's sentence immediately after his offer of these works to Diabelli: "My housekeeper goes this forenoon to the city; please give her your answer to my proposition." Consequently, Beethoven had not yet returned to Vienna from Baden, the watering-place in the vicinity of Vienna, where he had gone, I find in Thayer (III, 71), as late as September first and where, indeed, he composed the music above mentioned. Now, Beethoven participated on October 3, 1822, at the opening of the Josephstadt Theater. He must have left Vienna immediately afterwards since he sent a humorous business-letter on October 6th to Vienna to his brother Johann, but he is known to have returned from Baden to Vienna definitely before November third. Therefore, the reference to his housekeeper would establish the date of that communication to Diabelli as: Baden, probably September, 1822, possibly October. At any rate, "fall 1822" would appear to be safe. Of course, the argument might be advanced that Beethoven made his proposition to Diabelli in 1823, after he had left Vienna for his usual summer-sojourn in the country, but such an argument would force on us the rather too far-fetched assumption that Beethoven contracted for the Variations, finished their composition and saw them through the press, all before the date of actual publication middle of June, 1823, and after May 17, 1823, when he left Vienna to spend the summer at Hetzendorf. And this quite aside from the significant fact that Beethoven under date of Vienna, April 25, 1823, advised Ries that he would receive "in a few weeks 33 new variations" and under date of Vienna, May 7, 1823, offered to the publisher Lissner in St. Petersburg "33 variations on a popular theme," —a clear indication, in my opinion, that the 33 Diabelli variations, Op. 120, were completed by end of April, 1823.

If Beethoven offered Diabelli the Opus 120 and the other works mentioned in the fall of 1822, immediately the possibility of the Schirmer autograph forming a kind of sequel to the other letter to Diabelli, disappears. For the reason that this apparently matter-of-fact autograph contains salient features against 1822 in practically every one of its few lines: (1) The reference to unfinished proofs of a sonata; (2) The seemingly mysterious

words "samt französischen E."; (3) Beethoven's complaint about eye-strain; (4) The postscript about proofs of the Variations.

While Beethoven repeatedly complained about his health in the year 1822, I am not aware that he mentioned his eyes. On the other hand, he did complain about his eyes in 1823 more than once and even prior to his letter of July 1, 1923 to his friend, pupil and patron, the Archduke Rudolph. That fact favors 1823 as the year in which the Schirmer autograph was written and the postscript about the rest of the proofs of the (Diabelli) variations helps us further along. Indeed, the reference to these proofs, regardless of the other contents of the little letter, tends to fix, at least approximately, its date. That date cannot have been many weeks prior to the actual publication of the 33 variations, because the engraving was about finished and also because the interval between proof-reading and publishing of his works by his Viennese publishers, as a rule, was amazingly short. Now, Beethoven is known to have settled for the summer of 1823 in Hetzendorf in the vicinity of Vienna at the invitation of Baron Müller-Pronay on May seventeenth. Furthermore, he wrote to Schindler from Hetzendorf in an unfortunately undated letter about the proofs of the Diabelli Variations as practically completed in these terms: "If the correction of the Variations is finished as I suspect and shall see to-day after the proof-sheets have been delivered to you, I request Herr Diabelli to send me as soon as possible the eight graciously promised copies on beautiful paper." These lines, under the circumstances, point almost conclusively to either end of May or the first days of June. Since Beethoven's letter to Diabelli obviously can have preceded them or followed them by only a very few days, I conclude that the letter, now owned by the Estate of Rudolph E. Schirmer, was written in Hetzendorf early in June, 1823, indeed slightly later than June third—and that for a reason which is withheld for the moment.

That letter begins "as soon as the correction [of the proofs] of the sonata is finished, send it back to me together with the French E. [Exemplar, meaning copy]." Which sonata? It can have been no other than the Sonata for Pianoforte in C minor, Op. 111, the Sonata in A flat major, Op. 110 having been finished on December 25, 1821 and published by Schlesinger in Paris (and Berlin) in August, 1822, according to Nottebohm's thematic catalogue of Beethoven's works. The Sonata, Op. 111, was composed immediately after Op. 110. This we know from the autograph score which bears the date January 13, 1822. Schle-

singer again was the publisher and Nottebohm gives as date of publication "Berlin (und Paris), April 1823," an entry incorrect at least in this respect that the sonata, as a matter of fact, was engraved in Paris and first published there though "simultaneous" publication may have taken place in Berlin. "But," the puzzled reader will now ask, "why does Beethoven desire the return of proof-sheets of this C minor Sonata, Op. 111, by the Viennese publisher Diabelli, if the sonata saw the light of day in Paris, at Schlesinger's?" A legitimate question and thereby hangs the tale which gives to Beethoven's apparently so insignificant note to Diabelli its "human interest."

Adolph Martin Schlesinger of Berlin, one of the most enterprising publishers of the time, sent his son Maurice in 1819 to Beethoven with the object of entering into business relations with the master. How the shrewd Maurice acted on the adage that the surest way to a man's heart leads through his stomach, is one of the most amusing episodes in the history of Beethoven's dealings with his publishers. At any rate, he speedily conquered Beethoven's heart and won from him, as the first fruits of culinary strategy, Beethoven's three last pianoforte sonatas, Op. 109, 110, 111. Establishing himself in 1822 in Paris where his firm soon helped to make musical history, and collaborating closely with his father in Berlin, parent and son adopted the practice of issuing important works simultaneously in Berlin and Paris. That is the reason why the reader of Beethoven letters will find letters relating to the same work addressed to both Berlin and Paris and not without contradictions in Beethoven's orders. For instance, the amusing reversal of Beethoven's decision to whom to dedicate the Sonata, Op. 111. In a letter of May 1, 1822, to father Schlesinger he gave to his publisher—good, old days these!—the privilege of dedicating that sonata to whom he—the publisher—pleased, but on February 18, 1823, he told Maurice Schlesinger to dedicate the sonata to Antonia von Brentano, née von Birkenstock—and then, exercising the privilege of women and great men, he changed his mind and with sovereign graciousness dedicated the work to Archduke Rudolph, because as he wrote in his letter to the Archduke on July 1, 1823,[1] His Imperial Highness "appeared to derive pleasure from the Sonata in C minor." He took care, however, of Frau von Brentano by dedicating to her the 33 Diabelli variations,—after having

[1]Not June 1, 1823. Why Shedlock-Hull should print first of July with a question-mark is as much of a puzzle as their dating the postscript (on July first) to that letter "beginning of July."

informed his young friend and champion in London, Ferdinand Ries as late as April 25, 1823, that they had been dedicated to his wife! This dedication took a semi-anonymous form because Beethoven did not know the name of Mrs. Ries. Her husband printed it as a curiosity in his and Wegeler's "Biographical Notices" in fac-simile and it reads: "33 Veränderungen über einen Walzer, der Gemahlin meines lieben Freundes Ries gewidmet von Ludwig van Beethoven." Imagine then her husband's surprise when he took the manuscript copy with that dedication to Boosey who had agreed to publish Op. 120 for England and was shown the Viennese edition with the dedication to Frau von Brentano. The humiliated Ries thereupon told Beethoven henceforth to have his affairs attended to in London by someone else. It was in response to that letter that Beethoven on September 5, 1823, furiously put the blame for the miscarriage of his scheme of simultaneous publication in London and Vienna on the "arch-scoundrel" Schindler and Johann van Beethoven. As for the miscarried dedication to Ries' wife: "The dedication to Brentano was to be only for Germany, because I was under obligation to her and momentarily had nothing else to publish . . . I can dedicate to your wife some other work."

Such caprice of genius could not fail at times to annoy his friends and, more so, his publishers. They in turn annoyed Beethoven with misprints of a nature and frequency which would not be tolerated to-day. In fairness, however, one might doubt that modern engravers would wrestle more successfully than their incredibly swift predecessors with "modernistic" manuscripts such as those of a Beethoven or with the almost as baffling transcripts by the master's divinatory copyists. With his C minor Sonata, Op. 111, the engravers fared particularly badly. According to Schindler, Beethoven required two proofs and a third proof was refused by the publishers, but we possess more reliable evidence in a letter by Beethoven to Maurice Schlesinger which points out in musical notation a number of "incomprehensible" errors in his edition. This letter was printed in Max Unger's Steiner-Haslinger-Schlesinger book with date April [February?] 3, 1823, but previously in Frimmel's second Beethoven Year-book from Mr. Edward Speyer's Beethoven autograph collection with the date February 3, 1823.

That is to say, the letter was believed considerably to have preceded the publication of the sonata which Nottebohm, in his thematic catalogue, assigned to April, 1823. He added

laconically: "the reprint of Cappi and Diabelli in Vienna was corrected by Beethoven." This, then, is the explanation of the first line of the Schirmer autograph letter to Diabelli? Yes, and the answer probably would suffice for all purposes, had not Beethoven written to Schlesinger (in the letter owned by Mr. Speyer) after his enumeration of misprints in the French edition:

As a noteworthy event some one here sent me two copies as a curiosity, to show how far one may perfect imitation, the one copy engraved by you in Paris, the other a reprint by Leidesdorf here and so deceivingly engraved like the other that one copy can't be distinguished from the other [in a foot-note he adds: even the price]. It seems, you know who your friends are. Diabelli also has begun to engrave it for reprint, so I hear.

If *February* third, 1823, or even *April* third, is the correct date of Beethoven's letter to Schlesinger, then Diabelli began reprinting a sonata not yet accessible to him in print. This would have been impossible unless Beethoven himself put a manuscript copy or proof-sheets of the French edition (certainly not published *prior* to April, 1823) at Diabelli's disposal. Therewith Beethoven would have double-crossed Schlesinger in a shameless manner, his "so I hear" would be flagrantly disingenuous not only, but impudently deceitful in view of his collaboration with Diabelli as revisor of the proofs and the composer of the Sonata in C minor, Op. 111, would stand revealed as a rascal. Now, Beethoven had little liking for the "most honorable crooks" as he called publishers and not only on an irrate occasion somewhere in his letters advocated sharp dealing with them but occasionally seems to have practiced it and to have told untruths to publishers, but Beethoven was not the man to commit acts of such rascality. In other words, something about the surface-evidence in that letter arouses one's suspicions.

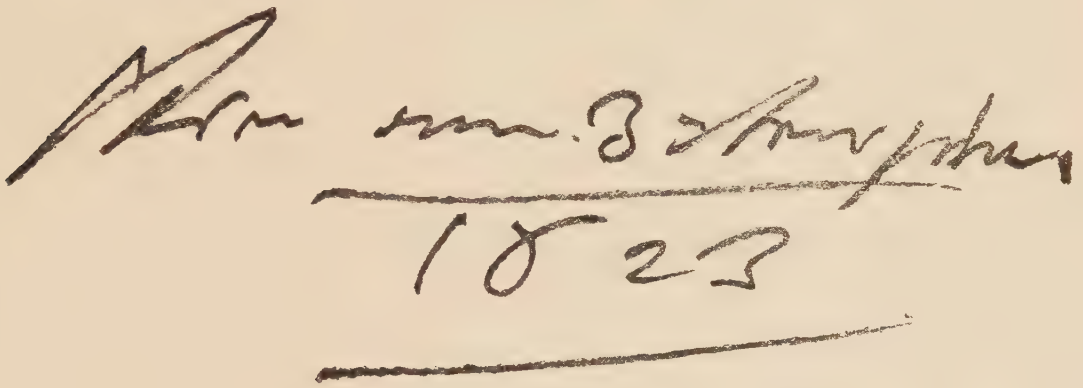
In the first place, we have no right to distrust Beethoven's "so I hear," unless, by taking it at its face value, we land in a *cul de sac.* This means that at the time Beethoven wrote "so I hear," he possessed as yet no direct personal knowledge of Diabelli's enterprise and surely had as yet no hand in this reprint which neither he nor Schlesinger could prevent, if Diabelli saw fit to make it. That Diabelli could not do, until a copy or copies of Schlesinger's edition had reached him. Copies could reach Vienna in less than two weeks after leaving Schlesinger's

shop and within a few weeks after their arrival Diabelli's reprint could have been engraved and on the market. Now, the curious thing is that Beethoven, as we know from Louis Schlösser's reminiscences of his visit to Beethoven in May, 1823, was growing impatient at the tardiness of Schlesinger in publishing the sonata and, as so often in similar cases in his morose moods, attributed to Schlesinger sinister motives. Furthermore, a letter of May 6, 1823, to Schlösser exists in which he requests him to take to Paris a letter to Cherubini and another to Schlesinger and to ask the latter "what the reason is why I have as yet not received any copies of the Sonata in C minor."

Of course, possibly Schlesinger had published the sonata and had either neglected to send Beethoven the customary composer's copies or they had gone astray. In either of these cases, Diabelli might have received copies from Paris and might have begun to engrave his reprint of which a rumor had reached Beethoven, but the probabilities are that to Diabelli no more than to Beethoven was the published French edition accessible on May 6, 1823, for starting a reprint with or without the composer's knowledge. This surmise is supported by the fact unearthed by Nottebohm that the Wiener Zeitung announced on May 27, 1823, the sonata as "just arrived." This points to the second half of May as the earliest date when Diabelli could satisfy his appetite for a reprint-edition in competition with Schlesinger. And a further observation: in Beethoven's letter to Schlesinger with his "so I hear" about that reprint, he notates, as already stated, several errors in the Schlesinger edition with the request to correct them. He then explains some mishap in connection with which he says "but it is incomprehensible why the first six notes are so totally wrong, since they are right in the first copy sent me." He ends the letter with the remark "Though I had not received a copy from you, I considered it my duty to acquaint you with new and old mistakes." Apparently the list of errata in the letter was preceded by another list of errata which Beethoven sent before he had received a copy. This would seem to indicate that he listed the mistakes from a copy which reached someone in Vienna, perhaps Diabelli, before he had received his own first copy. Again the surmise is supported by available evidence: a second list of errata in the Sonata, Op. 111, is indeed recorded. It bore this funny but tactless heading: "Vorgefundene Defekten bei den beiden Strand Hausier und Trödeljuden namens Schlesinger zwischen der Seine, der Themse, der Spree und der Donau," but if Kastner-Kapp dates it "*begin-*

ning of 1823," he is palpably wrong.[1] And palpably wrong must be the dates February 3 or April 3, 1823, of any letter in which Beethoven writes to Schlesinger of "the first copy sent me," which first copy certainly had not reached him as yet on May 6, 1823.

When these doubts about the correctness of the dates February 3 or April 3, 1823, accumulated in my mind with their inferences *pro* or *contra* Beethoven's business integrity, I communicated with Mr. Edward Speyer, the owner of Beethoven's letter to Schlesinger and, with his customary courtesy, he sent me an enlarged fac-simile of the date-lines of his letter. Here it is:



"Wien am 3ten" and "1823" are clear enough, but what is the word inbetween for the month? February? Impossible. April? Equally impossible and so are March and May. But if the reader will think away the vertical line in the center of the word which clearly was an "afterthought" of the pen in the form of an elongated ink-smudge and does not form part of any letter in the word, he will agree with me, I am sure, that the word is *juni* (June).

Once we accept "Wien am 3ten juni 1823" as the true date of the tantalizing letter of Beethoven to Schlesinger, everything clicks into position like the tumblers in a safe and only one regret remains. A sheet seems to be missing after the errata (in musical notation) with the result that the next words "die Exemplare wiedergeben" hang in the air and leave

[1]For the benefit of those who might desire to check me up on or to go more deeply into this complicated matter, I know Beethoven's letter with his intention of *printing* a list of errata in the Sonata, Op. 111, but that undated letter to Schindler, I claim, refers to misprints in Diabelli's reprint, not to such in the Schlesinger edition and I claim this for the reason that he begins the letter with remarks about misprints in the Diabelli variations which were not published until middle of June, 1823.

us in suspense as to their meaning. As likely as not, the missing sentences ending with those words narrated some occurrence affecting the history of the Sonata, Op. 111. However that may be, "June 3, 1823" permits us to re-construct the bibliographical history of the sonata in this simple manner: assuming that Diabelli received a printed copy of it from Paris a few days before May 27, 1823, as a shrewd business-man, bent on reprinting the sonata so that he rather than Schlesinger would supply the demand, he lost no time in giving the copy to his engravers. Beethoven heard of it and decided to give Diabelli the benefit of his own proof-reading. Because of his "so I hear" in his letter to Schlesinger, this occurred shortly *after* June third. In the meantime the engraving was nearing completion, for otherwise he would not have worded the Schirmer letter to Diabelli as he did with its postscript about the Variations, and *now my reason appears at last for dating that letter slightly later than June 3, 1823.* That the race between the 33 Variations and Diabelli's reprint of the Sonata, Op. 111, ended in favor of the former on or before June 16, 1823. I gather from another undated letter of Beethoven to Diabelli which Kastner-Kapp (No. 1115) places correctly in June, 1823, and in which Beethoven says: "The text of the correction of the Variations is probably finished," words with a distinct flavor of priority over the opening words of the letter "Yesterday I sent you instead of the French edition of the Sonata in C minor my manuscript and request its return." Furthermore, a letter to Schindler exists in which Beethoven wrote: "Inquire at the arch-churl Diabelli's, when the French copy of the Sonata in C minor is reprinted that I may have it [the reprint] for correction; also, I have demanded 4 copies of it, of which one on beautiful paper for the Cardinal." But, if notwithstanding this reference to Archduke Rudolph there can still be any doubt about the priority of issue of the Diabelli Variations *versus* the Diabelli reprint of the Sonata in C minor, Op. 111, this passage in Beethoven's letter of July 1, 1823 to the Archduke removes it:

> Your Imperial Highness will see from the inclosed receipt of June 27th that I sent you some music. Because Y. I. H. appeared to derive pleasure from the Sonata in C minor, I did not believe to presume too much by dedicating it to Your Highness as a surprise. . . . *The Sonata in C minor was engraved in Paris, full of mistakes, and since it was reprinted here, I saw as much as possible to correctness.*

This, then, was Beethoven's avowed reason for lending a helping hand to the enterprising Diabelli's reprint in competition with Schlesinger's original edition. Some may say that, though Beethoven has been cleared of the suspicion of double-crossing rascality, a charge inescapable if the date of his letter to Schlesinger really had been February 3 or April 3, 1823, nevertheless he behaved unethically by helping to make Diabelli's edition better than that of Schlesinger who had acquired and paid Beethoven for the Sonata. With such a narrow view of ethics I cannot agree. Neither Schlesinger nor Beethoven could prevent Diabelli from reprinting the work. Once the damage was done to Schlesinger by Diabelli, the composer in Beethoven asserted himself and every instinct of artistic self-protection in him demanded that he undo the damage done to him as the creator of the Sonata by Schlesinger with so very faulty an edition. As a publisher I might align myself against Beethoven in this matter, as an artist I cannot.

On the other hand, I confess my inability at present to understand a proposition made by Beethoven to Ferdinand Ries in connection with this sonata. On February 25, 1823, he expressed his hope that Ries had received "the two sonatas" in London and requested him to exercise his ability to sell them to a publisher. On April 25, 1823, he wrote again and said: "but please see to it that the [Sonata, Op. 111] in C minor is engraved immediately. That the sonata will appear nowhere else sooner, I guarantee the publisher, and shall also, if necessary, cede to him the property-rights for England, but the sonata must be engraved immediately." This proposition is puzzling for more than one reason. In the first place, how could Beethoven end of April, 1823, when he was expecting daily a copy of Schlesinger's edition from Paris, guarantee to a British publisher that the sonata would appear nowhere else sooner? Was this promise merely a tempting bait for the prospective British publisher who naturally would bite more readily, if he knew that with a clear commercial and legal field before him he need not fear any competition from the French edition? How could, in short, Beethoven prevent the export of Schlesinger's already overdue edition to England? As a matter of historical fact he did not: after the faithful Ries had persuaded Clementi to acquire the British rights for the Sonatas Op. 110 and 111, not many days afterwards the humiliation awaited him to be shown by the publisher Boosey, with whom he was negotiating for the Diabelli Variations, Op. 120, not only the original French edition Op. 111, but also

the Viennese reprint! Clearly, something went wrong with Beethoven's plans, but that by no means implies his plans to have been "wrong" from the point of view of business ethics.

The circumstances, I concede, seem to have differed somewhat from those governing his frantic efforts to sell his 33 Diabelli variations to England about the same time. If in that case Beethoven could write, as the context would seem to prove, in May, 1823, to Schindler "even though Diabelli will be ready in three weeks, England has time enough to engrave them because no copy could get there so very soon and that would be to my advantage," he held the trump-cards in his own hands, but not so in the case of the Sonata where neither calculations nor business-tricks could avail him much, since not he, but Schlesinger controlled the situation. Furthermore, Diabelli is not known to have included England contractually within his territory as publisher of Beethoven's works, but under date of May 31, 1820, Beethoven apparently ceded to Schlesingers the right to sell their publications of his works in England, too. At any rate, when that letter of Beethoven was offered for sale in 1881 from the autograph collection of Gabriel Charavay in Paris—in its entirety the letter has not been published—the catalogue dwelt on that agreement as the most important part of the letter and specifically referred to three pianoforte sonatas offered to Schlesinger, and the fruit of that offer were precisely the Sonatas, Op. 109, 110, 111.

One naturally asks, whether that agreement remained in force in 1823 or not. If not, then Beethoven acted within his rights by seeking a British publisher for Op. 111 to his advantage rather than that of Schlesinger. If, contrariwise, the agreement, unless it was merely a tentative proposition and possessed not the force of a valid, binding agreement, continued in 1823, then appearances would decidedly be against Beethoven. However, appearances and actualities do not always coincide and it would be a dangerous assumption that all the available evidence in form of letters, occasional remarks, etc., in any given case of dubious appearance constitutes complete and irrefutable evidence. The basest criminal is considered innocent until proven guilty beyond reasonable doubt. Why not Beethoven, when certain business transactions of his look queer and disreputable? How easily the tables may be turned against his detractors, I believe to have proven in the case of his "so I hear" letter to Schlesinger. But his conduct in the case of his "Missa solemnis" when he was hood-winking (to put it mildly) half a dozen publishers with promises unfulfilled?

I am not at all certain that even in that episode of ugly appearance the case has definitely been made out against Beethoven. He knew that appearances were against him, but when he assured Peters, one of the injured competitors for the great mass, that within a few minutes of explanation *in persona*, Peters would accept the explanation of Beethoven's behaviour as satisfactory, some irresistible impulse in me compels me to trust Beethoven rather than the incriminating but perhaps incomplete epistolary evidence against him. In the case of the puzzling proposition to Ries for the British rights in the Sonata, Op. 111, I also believe that Beethoven within a few minutes could vindicate his action. This belief derives in part from the fact that at least a year prior to 1807 when Clementi for himself and partner Birchall sought to acquire works of Beethoven for England, Beethoven had clearly seen the advisability of keeping the London market for his works separate from that in other countries. With this policy he coupled one equally sensible, as recorded in an entry in one of his sketchbooks for 1816, quoted by Kastner-Kapp: "for all works . . . you reserve for yourself to fix for the publisher the day of publication, without the publisher in either London or Germany, as it were, knowing about each other, because otherwise they will give less; also because it is unnecessary. You can pretend that no one else has ordered these compositions from you." Furthermore, we know that in his general contract of April 29, 1815, with Steiner, he made it a point to exclude England from Steiner's territory.

When we listen to Beethoven the composer, we naturally forget to think of him as a dealer in music—his music. But such he was and so were most composers of his time. Beethoven realized that he was not, as he expressed himself in one of his letters, a born "Handelsmann" (business man), but he also realized that circumstances compelled him to act as if he were. Elsewhere in his correspondence he remarked shrewdly that publishers would reprint his works whenever and wherever they could and that with no advantage to him. Now, Beethoven, when his infirmity gradually brought his career as a concert-pianist and teacher to an end and his annuity from the Princes Lobkowitz and Kinsky and Archduke Rudolph had shrunk very much in value, was compelled to make a living mainly by his pen. Of this he made no secret. For instance, when exercising his rusty French on nephew Karl on August 16, 1823, he wrote "nous sommes trop pauvres et il faut écrire ou de n'avoir pas de quoi," but, as he confessed to

Ferdinand Ries on February 25, 1823, "almost always to have to live by one's pen, is not easy" and the fact hurt his pride.

Shocking as that may sound to many who picture to themselves great artists as creatures of the divine afflatus without any of the prosaic and material needs of the common herd, Beethoven often composed for money—and admitted it. Curiously enough, one such admission occurs in a Conversations-Heft of the very year 1823 when the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston had commissioned him to compose an oratorio for Boston. Discussing that offer from the land of the dollar, Beethoven said: "I do not only write what I should like most, but for sake of the money which I need. However, that does not mean that I only compose because of money. When this period is over, I hope at last to compose what stands highest for me and Art—*Faust.*" He stated his position even more clearly in a letter of March 20, 1823, to the publisher Peters: "My condition demands that I must be guided more or less by what is to my advantage. It is different, however, with the work itself because then, God be thanked, I never think of gain, but only of how I compose." Precisely that attitude of the true craftsman (*plus* genius) accounts for an average level of his works which most of us will continue to consider abnormally high and not low as a brilliant critic recently, after his holiday, tried to make himself and others believe.

Beethoven conceded that he composed for money, but he very properly made the vital distinction between composing for money because one must and then without sacrifice of artistic ideals and composing for money from motives of avarice at the sacrifice of one's artistic conscience and with the idea of increasing the commercial demand for one's musical merchandise by catering to the rabble. To illustrate the point, Beethoven composed many pot-boilers of the salon or "teaching-piece" variety, dear to the heart of publishers (*vide*, for example, numerous sets of easy variations to which he did not even give an opus number) but he also composed on commission from Prince Galitzin and for a pre-arranged fee his String-quartets, Op. 127, 130, 132. Would anyone, ignorant of their origin, suspect that they were composed to order? Are they not master-works of the very first rank, without the slightest odor of "money" about them? What a blessing, if the present sporadic example of a few could again make the good old custom flourish among patrons and patronesses of music to commission composers of *métier* to exercise their talent to the best of their ability for a fee, as other art-patrons do painters, sculptors, architects! Of course,

they would run the risk of obtaining mediocre works or pot-boilers or, as sometimes even in Beethoven's case, works in which the combination of technique and genius produced only respectable results, inspired enough for the needs of their age, not inspired or fresh enough for a later century, but they might also help to give birth to master-works of enduring quality and interest. Whether written to order or just "inspired," master-works anyhow shape themselves only under the hands of masters and masters luckily or unluckily (that depends on one's point of view of what is best for Art) are few.

Whether Beethoven accepted commissions for work or sought to sell finished works to various publishers or offered to them for contractual delivery unfinished works or suggested for purchase tempting compositions not even begun (very much like any manufacturer of goods would do), Beethoven's livelihood depended largely, to repeat it in the most unromantic terms, on composition as a business. And that according to the methods and procedures prevalent in his days, but in some respects no longer in ours! This, in my opinion, neither Thayer nor other biographers, in their endeavor to picture Beethoven, the man, truthfully without fear or favor, took sufficiently into consideration. They established the fact easily enough from his correspondence, teeming with instances, that Beethoven, the great composer, peddled his wares and hawked them about, sometimes dangerously close to the rim of normal ethics. They shuddered at the unpleasant spectacle, but obscured the point.

Surely, Beethoven remained quite within his rights as an artist, gentleman and dealer in his music, if he sought the most favorable markets for his works in an age when the system of paying royalities to a composer was not as yet established. Nowadays that system more or less prevails and the percentage of royalties is reasonably uniform. With the result that the necessity of undignified bargaining has been reduced to a minimum, but also with the much more important result that publisher and composer are partners in the venture of placing a work before the public and that both continue to derive revenues so long as the demand continues. In Beethoven's days it was different. The composer sold his work to the highest bidder among publishers or to a particular publisher at the highest price obtainable, with or without haggling. The publisher, of course, ran the risk of losing out on his investment, but, if he acquired a commercially profitable work, the composer did not share in the prosperity. He had been

paid a lump sum and therewith his revenues from the work ended, though it might develop into and remain for many years a "big seller."

Secondly, Beethoven remained within the realm of ethics and even that little bit of common sense which an otherwise admiring world grants to artists as pardonably theirs, if he sold the rights to publishers only for particular countries. They knew as well as he that anyhow outside of their own country no international copyright protected them against reprint. Their business it was to take chances with the possibility that their publications would not be reprinted with or without a composer's permission in another country, thus leaving the international supply of the demand in their own hands. On the other hand, even the most rudimentary sense of business would dictate to Beethoven to protect himself against a substantial loss of revenue by making reprint in another country, if not impossible, at least improbable. That he could easily do by selling the work to a publisher in that other country. At any rate, he stood a fair chance of getting a much better total price for a work, if he sold it to one publisher in one country and to another publisher in another country rather than to one publisher for all countries. The rest became a matter of bargaining and Beethoven—who will censure him for that?—tried on occasion to drive a bargain (whether skillfully or not, is a different story). The difficulty for his character-witnesses is that Beethoven did not think of the good opinion of posterity in his business dealings, verbal or by correspondence. Otherwise he might have recorded in each instance for the benefit of posterity whether contractually he reserved the rights for this or that country for himself. In the absence of such records, his letters permit the inference that in this or that instance his business conduct deserves condemnation and that he used rather sharp practices, but, for the reasons stated, the fair procedure would be to give to Beethoven in doubtful cases the benefit of the doubt, if possible. If not possible, then mysteries of psychology confront us which ought to baffle us and remain riddles in the case of genius not more than in the case of any other human being.

However, even strict moralists, if they convince themselves that Beethoven did stray from the path of righteousness must allow, unless they be moral pedants, as extenuating circumstances for his occasionally abnormal business conduct in his later years, his affliction of deafness, his susceptibility under this and other suffering to questionable "practical"

advice, his pathetic but not always well founded distrust of business men in their dealings with him, the general disorderliness in the daily affairs of this unfortunate man and last, but not least, his pathological desire to accumulate a competence, not like a miser for himself, but for his nephew and foster-son whom he so loved. Some writer whose name I have happily forgotten, claims that Beethoven during the last few years of his life, repeatedly "sold his soul" and so confessed. He did nothing of the kind and it is going altogether too far to give to Beethoven's words in his letter of July 31, 1822 to his brother Johann "only necessity forces on me that kind of soul-selling" (Seelenverkäuferei) a meaning which the context does not justify. Moreover, study of Beethoven's questionable business transactions has convinced me that the burden of indisputable proof still remains on those who aver that he actually sold the same work to several publishers. Even in the worst of such isolated instances, he may have promised the same work to competing publishers, but he actually and finally sold it only to the one whose bid in every respect answered his conditions. At any rate, no selfish motives actuated him. Selfishness would have stood too poor a chance against the obsession that his savings and the fruits of his genius belonged to Karl. He placed his duties as guardian and foster-father, as he saw them, above every other consideration. If by doing so, he laid himself open to historical attack, then, at least, let the attack be fair!

It becomes irritatingly unfair when Beethoven's innumerable exclamations of financial woe are put down as so many fibs. Granted that he occasionally exaggerated his lack of funds or revenue, I fail to see why occasional temperamental exaggerations and misstatements should discredit the substance of his complaints and allow pontifical commentators to indulge in exaggerations and misstatements of their own. Ideas of what constitutes a reasonable degree of comfort, permissible even to a great composer, may vary, but that Beethoven at no time rolled in riches, also anti-Beethovenians will have to admit. On the other hand, I fail to understand why critics who still admire Beethoven (to be sure, and rightly so, not every note of his) help to spread damaging legends about the man Beethoven by informing their readers that he "enacted" "handsome sums" in his later years from publishers and organizations. True, Beethoven's prices for his works rose in the natural course of competition for them as his fame spread. One ought to rejoice at that fact and also at his ability

to exact handsome sums, if but that assertion were founded on fact solid enough to support it convincingly. Yes, Beethoven's earning power rose to 1000 florins for his "Missa Solemnis" and 600 florins for the "Ninth Symphony" and his price for his last string-quartets mounted to 80 ducats each and so forth, but translate ducats and florins into dollars and remember, when reading Beethoven's biography or his business letters, that a ducat was worth about $2.30, a florin Convention Currency about 40 cents and a florin Vienna Currency only 40% of that or about 16 cents! Allow then for the much greater purchasing power of a given amount one hundred years ago and even so the sums for which Beethoven parted once for ever with his works, no longer look so handsome. Furthermore, it is a great mistake to imagine that Beethoven received prices unheard of before. The game of publishers was essentially not so different from what it is to-day. In their dealings with composers they calculated their market and they did not pay Beethoven more than their ambition to own his works warranted for purposes of "prestige" or "business." This Beethoven very well knew; hence on a certain occasion his sarcastic rejoinder that the publisher paid the violinist Mayseder for a "commercial" set of variations for the violin as much, if not more, than to him (Beethoven!) for a major work of chamber-music.

Granted that he mismanaged his affairs often enough, that does not remove the fact that Beethoven often needed and often *borrowed* the money wherewith to mismanage them. A legend has spread that Beethoven did not die a comparatively poor man. And in view of that supposed fact, he has been censured even for appealing on his death-bed to his friends in London and the Philharmonic Society for financial assistance. They granted it, promptly and generously. Why, one hundred years later, insinuate that the dying master obtained this token of sympathy under false pretenses? Because he owned the seven bank-shares worth 7441 much depreciated florins? Including these shares, cash, clothing, furniture, manuscripts, instruments, etc., the attested inventory of Beethoven's estate showed a total estimated (nominal) value of 9885 florins, 13 kreutzer, silver, and 600 paper florins (Vienna standard). Mr. Krehbiel states (without comment either way) that "in view of the difference in purchasing power of money in 1827 and 1913 it may be said that Beethoven's estate amounted to the equivalent of £3000, or about $15000." Taking their cue from these figures, whether (because of nominal *versus* normal

value of the florin) misleading or not, and also from previous pertinent remarks in Thayer, whether correct or not, certain critics whose names again I have happily forgotten, will have us believe that Beethoven died a comparatively well-to-do man and without justification for financial complaint or appeal for assistance. Of course, it depends on the degree of awe inspired by a total estate of a Beethoven—of the theoretical purchasing power nowadays of $15000—but it also depends on something else. These gentlemen naïvely overlook a determining psychological factor. In Beethoven's eyes his seven bank-shares did not exist for him; in his eyes, as Schindler told us long ago, they belonged to nephew Karl, his sole heir. To have touched these for his own comfort would have been considered by Beethoven unpardonable thievery. One may disapprove of this excess of consideration for Karl's future welfare, but it was sincere. Hence, from his point of view Beethoven, logically enough, could not but look upon himself as a poor man. And that even men of affairs among his contemporaries who knew the purchasing power of money in their days did not consider him by any means a man of wealth on the strength of his few bank-shares, for this we have at least the testimony of his lawyer Dr. Bach who wrote to Schindler that "this small estate was not in keeping with the merits of this great master, is true. It would throw a bad light on his contemporaries, if the causes of this condition were not to be sought in his mental processes and actions. He was only Master, he knew only Art; the advantage he left to others."

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Why this lengthy dissertation on Beethoven's business methods which affect not by a single millimeter the greatness of his music? Because musicians who rightfully demand an artistically truthful interpretation of Beethoven, the composer, will with equal right insist on a biographical interpretation of the man Beethoven which shirks not the truth but also does not unnecessarily and without absolute proof besmirch his honor and character. Thayer's sincere endeavors to divest Beethoven, the man, of sentimental rubbish and embellishments, has given rise in some quarters to a tendency to stress (with delighted regret) the impure ingredients in Beethoven's character, whether the last word on them has been said or not. That deplorable and in the last analysis uncritical tendency

I desired to challenge and for that purpose I selected Beethoven's insignificant note to Diabelli. Why disregard Beethoven's own admonition, as recorded by Schindler?: "Whatever be said of me hereafter, shall adhere in every respect to the truth, regardless of whom it may hurt, including myself." The truth—not less than the truth, but also not more than the truth!

There ought to be, it seems to me, in Beethoven's case as in that of Wagner, a happy mean between biographical tarring and feathering and white-washing; at any rate, a disposition not to tar and feather him for the mere pleasure of it. Furthermore, we are altogether too prone to expect of genius to be immeasurably above us in character and daily virtue, just because he is so immeasurably above us in his art. It may be a sad and uncomfortable fact but it is a fact that genius shares the defects of character of ordinary mortals and that while a genius in mind may be a mediocrity in character, a genius in character may be a mediocrity in mind. But Beethoven was a mediocrity in neither respect. Emphasize as much as you like the weak spots in his character, essentially it stands forth as one of nobility and high ideals. If one pictures to oneself Beethoven tortured on his death-bed by crawling vermin and then by contrast sees one-hundred years later his memory tortured by glib men who confess to being bored by much of his music as that of a "moral platitudinarian," to quote a *mauvais mot* of Ernest Newman, one can only hope that posterity will show more sympathy with the sufferings of that unhappy genius and will not be deprived too soon of frequent opportunity to hear, enjoy and admire such morally platitudinous music. Unquestionably, many a work of Beethoven's no longer answers the esthetic *wants* of our hectic time, but many more do answer its *needs*. And among them some masterworks which would be a welcome relief in Beethoven's own interest from those which are being conducted and played to boredom by senseless repetition.

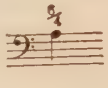
No, Beethoven was neither a saint nor a rascal, hence on occasion a sinner, like the rest of us; superior to his fellowmen in some respects, inferior in others. To quote Beethoven himself *verbatim* and *notatim* from a letter of his (in 1826) to Karl Holz:



PRINCE NICOLAS BORIS GALITZIN

PRINCE NICOLAS BORIS GALITZIN

Votre Altesse! Baden

in ansehung der contestation Zeuner a parfaitement raison ————la Viola a un réb dans cet passage c'est à dire  les motifs se trouvent deja dans le thême d'ecrire ainsi, jedoch noch überdies des gesanges wegen, welcher allzeit verdient allem übrigen vorgezogen zu werden, übrigens hat diese passage den $\frac{6}{4}$  zum grunde trotz dem  in der ersten Violine welches nichts als ein Nachschlag oder Anticipation ist, welche jeder gute sänger machen wird, wie denn in der Kunst die Natur [something crossed out]u. hinwiederum die Natur in der Kunst gegründet ist ————hätte ich aber  geschrieben, so wäre der gesang zerrissen worden u. warum, weil statt dem $\frac{6}{4}$ Accord welcher sich in dieser Stelle  befindet u.  den Grundaccord  hat der   6ten Accord, welcher den F moll Accord  [zum crossed out] Grunde hat entstanden wäre, dem ganzen Gange der Melodie u. Harmonie zuwider u. zu fremd gewesen, kurzum Zeuner a parfaitement raison, u. dies freut mich, dass ein so geschickter Künstler mich gleich errathen hat ————das neue quartett in Amoll ist schon vollendet, ich suche es nur so geschwind als möglich j. d. [Ihrer Durchlaucht] zu übermachen, in meinem nächsten Briefe werde ich jhnen mehr schreiben, wodurch ich hofte trübe wolken, die wie mir scheint, sich bei j. d. gegen mich bilden wollen, zu zertheilen, glauben sie mir, dass mir das Höchste ist, dass meine Kunst bej den edelsten u. gebildetsten Menschen Eingang findet, leider wird man von dem überirdischen der Kunst nur allzu unsanft in die [das?] irdische Menschliche hinabgezogen, allein sind es gerade nicht diejenigen, welche uns angehören, u. ohne eigentlich schätze [word Glück crossed out] an [word zu crossed out] häufen zu wollen oder können, müssen wir doch Sorge Tragen, dass sie unser andenken segnen,

da wir nun einmal keine jrossfürsten sind, die bekanntlich das Wohl der ihrigen der blossen Zukunft u. Gott anheim stellen——— zum schluss muss ich nur noch sagen, dass ich höre, welche schwierigkeiten mir rubeln u. ♯ etc., ich bitte daher, dass sich j. d. dies nicht die mindeste anstrengung kosten lassen ich bin vollkomen zufrieden, wenn es auch wie bisher hiemit sein bewenden hat, um so mehr, da sie mir erlauben, sogleich diese quartette herauszugeben, in dieser Rücksicht habe ich eben auch Gebrauch von der Erlaubniss j. d. mit dem ersten 4tett gemacht u. solches einem Verleger überlassen———die Verrechnung der 4 ♯ bitte ich auch nicht übel zu nehmen, da ich sehr gewissenhaft bin, ja ich muss diesem gemäss noch gestehn, dass ich 2 fl. davon noch zu verrechnen habe, wie gesagt, ich bin vollkomen zufrieden mit dem Hon. für die quartetten, eine so hohe Person hat überall zu geben, so lassen sie mir das Vergnügen dies andere von ihrer Grossmuth zu überlassen———ich übergebe dem Hönigstein jetzt 2 overturen, die eine habe ich mir die Freiheit genomen j. d. zu widmen u. es wird mich innigst freuen, wenn sie diese dedication ihrer würdig halten———der Himel segne sie u. ihre Familie, mich bitte ich sie unter die dankbarsten ihrer bekannten zu zählen u. so ersterbe ich j. D. etc.

Das 3te quartett ist auch bejnahe vollendet.

Translation[1]

Baden

Your Highness!

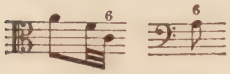
With regard to the dispute, Zeuner is perfectly right—the Viola has a d-flat in this passage, that is to say 

the motives for so writing may already be found in the theme, but, besides, on account of the vocal melody which merits always to be preferred to everything else. Furthermore, this passage is based on the $\frac{6}{4}$ [chord]  notwithstanding the 

in the first violin which is nothing but a Nachschlag or Anticipation which every good singer will make, for just as in art nature so again art is in nature the foundation—However, had I written 

, the vocal line would have been disrupted and why?

[1]The letter is kept in a frame and the frame covers up the ends of several words, fortunately not enough to obscure the text. In translation Schindler's marginal note reads: "This letter of L. v. Beethoven I beg to keep carefully and to return by mail, in case I should not come to Berlin."

Because instead of the $\frac{6}{4}$ chord which occurs in this passage  and has as fundamental chord  the  chord of the 6th, which has the F minor chord  [as, crossed out] basis, would have resulted [something crossed out] and would have been foreign and contrary to the whole flow of the melody and the harmony. In short Zeuner is wholly in the right and it gives me pleasure that such an able artist has immediately grasped my intentions.

The new quartet in A minor is already completed. I am merely trying to forward it to your Serene Highness in the quickest manner. In my next letter I shall write you more, when I hope to scatter dark clouds which seem to me to be forming with Y. S. H. against me. Believe me that I value highest that my art finds access to the noblest and most cultured minds. Unfortunately one is dragged down from the non-earthly (überirdisch) of Art only too roughly to the earthy Human. However, precisely those who belong to us—and without any special desire on our part or indeed the ability to amass treasure—must have our care that they will bless our memory, since after all we are not grand princes who, as is well known, leave the welfare of their relatives wholly to the Future and to God.

In conclusion, I have only to say that I hear what difficulties rubles [cause?] me and ducats, etc. Hence, I ask that Y. S. H. not let this cause you the slightest trouble. I am quite satisfied, if this matter take its course as heretofore; all the more so because you permit me to publish these quartets immediately. In that respect then, I have just made use of the permission of Y. S. H. with the first quartet and have ceded it to a publisher.

Also I request not to take amiss the Verrechnung[1] of the 4 ducats, since I am very conscientious. Indeed, I must in that respect even confess that of these I still have to verrechnen 2 florins. As stated, I am entirely satisfied with the fee for the quartets. A person so highly placed has to give everywhere. Hence, let me have the pleasure of leaving the other matter to your generosity.— I am about to hand over to Hönigstein two overtures. One of them I have taken the liberty of dedicating to Y. S. H. and I

[1]The German word *Verrechnung* means an accounting; it does not mean a *mistake* (in accounting) as Shedlock translated the word. Shedlock had in mind "sich verrechnen." His faulty translation—not corrected by Dr. Hull—makes Beethoven say something he did not say and misses the point entirely.

shall deeply rejoice, if you consider this dedication worthy of you.—Heaven bless you and your family. Please reckon me among the most grateful of your acquaintances and so I succumb Y. S. H., etc.

The third quartet also is almost completed.

When Kalischer first printed this jumble of a letter, now owned by Mr. Norden and difficult to translate so that it may make sense without depriving it of its puzzles, he exclaimed: "how astonishingly much matter for comment it contains!" Apparently he did not recognize in Beethoven's remarks about amassing treasure an allusion to his self-imposed duties towards his adopted nephew Karl, which made the master, who in earlier years was in money matters anything but stingy or mean, figure debits down to the last florin, as in this case. Instead, Kalischer devotes one page out of four and one half of comment to the futile effort to identify "Jenner," as he transcribed throughout the letter the name of the gentleman to whose musicianship Beethoven paid so high a compliment. He concludes "therefore, let us keep the point Jenner-Jenger *in suspenso.*" Nevertheless, he then promptly forgets his own injunction because "*the day before*" he reached that conclusion, "to his greatest surprise" he ran across a passage in Prince Galitzin's letter of November 29, 1823, which established the identity of Jenner. Having turned this somersault Kalischer then quotes that passage as if the letter were written in outlandish German—and quotes it incorrectly at that. The original appears in French and reads in the German ed. of Thayer (V, 557) as follows: "J'ai cependant entendu aussi toutes ces pièces [Beethoven's pianoforte sonatas] exécutées sur le clavecin, car Mr. Zeuner qui a le bonheur d'être connu de vous, et qui est un de vos plus grands admirateurs, fréquente journellement ma maison et je ne le tiens jamais quitte sans qu'il ne m'ait joué quelque pièce de votre composition." Kalischer, when studying Prince Galitzin's letter from the manuscript read Zenner and jubilantly exclaimed: "Hence, Zenner is the correct name!" But is it? Thayer-Riemann have Zeuner! And Beethoven? He most assuredly did not write Jenner! Had Kalischer not taken it for granted that he read Beethoven correctly in the first place and had he taken the trouble to refer again, after his discovery of Zenner, to Beethoven's autograph, one page of his rather too naïve notes would have become superfluous and he would not have trapped Prelinger, Kapp and others into copying his "Jenner"—and numerous other textual errors. Among his copyists are Shed-

lock-Hull and they accomplish an acrobatic feat all their own: when quoting in their brief explanatory note and in English, the passage from Prince Galitzin's letter, they calmly substituted Jenner for Zenner, so as to harmonize the name with the faulty text of Beethoven's letter as taken from Kalischer! The question arises why neither he nor Shedlock-Hull nor others thought of consulting, for instance, Riemann's Musiklexikon in order to identify that mysterious Jenner-Zenner-Zeuner. The mystery would have disappeared rapidly, since Karl Traugott Zeuner enjoyed quite a renown in his day as pianist and composer. Born in 1775 at Dresden, he died in 1841 at Paris after a wandering life. He resided for a time at Vienna (where he apparently made the acquaintance of Beethoven) before settling in St. Petersburg. There he soon played a prominent part in the musical affairs of the Russian capital and, incidentally, became the teacher of Glinka.

Probably Kalischer's excitement at having at last discovered in possession of Mr. Hellmuth v. Friedenthal a letter of Beethoven to Prince Galitzin, dimmed his eyes. Otherwise how account also for his nonsense "les mots ff se trouvent" or for printing the words "Ungemein schwer zu lesen" (uncommonly difficult to read) as part of Schindler's marginal note, though no such words are visible in the (framed) autograph? On the other hand, if Kalischer was "inclined to believe" that this letter with the appellation "Votre Altesse," but without address, place, date or signature is merely the draft of a letter, he might have assumed a more positive attitude by reflecting that Schindler could not very well have found among the effects of Beethoven a letter actually sent to Russia. The truth of the matter is that, unfortunately, Kalischer's notes compel one to exclaim, as he did about that letter, "how astounding much matter for comment they contain!"

In addition to the above, for instance, why did he date the letter "summer 1825" without mentioning his reasons? He discovered "Zenner" by reading Prince Galitzin's letters to Beethoven. If he had read them a little more carefully, he could have made life easier for editors of Beethoven letters who might find themselves compelled to look to Kalischer for information on his epistolary discovery. Now, Beethoven's draft of a letter to Prince Galitzin, instead of being unique (as Kalischer could not but assume at the time), turned out to be really one of *two* extant letters of his to Galitzin. An earlier one, of December 13, 1823, is preserved at Geneva (Prelinger 1284) but among sensible collectors that does not

impair the exceptional value of the draft now owned by Mr. Norden.

That draft is a rather scanty remnant of one side of the correspondence, in view of the fact that not less than eighteen letters of the Prince to the composer may be read in the German edition of Thayer! Besides these eighteen delightful letters, at least three more must have been written. The text and context of the eighteen leave no doubt that Beethoven had to his credit on this epistolary ledger at least ten letters. Of these we possess, to repeat, only his letter of December 13, 1823, and the draft discovered by Kalischer and dated by him "summer 1825." In other words, a magnificent opportunity for autograph hunters to stalk at least eight undiscovered and unpublished letters of Beethoven!

Why only eight, if Mr. Norden's letter be but a draft? Because the text of at least two undated letters from Beethoven to his nephew Karl indicates that Karl in this case, as in others, served as his uncle's secretary to put the letter to Galitzin in proper form. In the one letter he writes "if necessary wait with the letter to Galitzin," in the other he directs (sofar as the obviously faulty text in Kalischer, Kastner-Kapp, etc., makes for sense) "the point of *Bonheur* is to be touched. In the case of Lichnowsky I have already experienced how these grand gentlemen so-called do not like to see an artist well off who anyhow is their equal. Voilà le même cas—Votre altesse! in the context occasionally V. A.—On the letter à son Altesse *Monseigneur le Prince*, etc.,—one cannot know, whether this weakness does not exist—inclosed a sheet already signed by me" and at the end of the letter he gives to secretary Karl instructions about dedicating one of the overtures mentioned in the letter. The "inclosed sheet" cannot have been identical with Mr. Norden's draft because the latter lacks Beethoven's signature. I am inclined to believe that, if ever Beethoven's actual letter to Prince Galitzin, if such was really dispatched, is discovered, it will be found to contain the last sheet with signature in Beethoven's hand and the other sheet or sheets in that of Karl.

And possibly not in German, but in French, because it looks as if Beethoven started to draft the letter in French but fell back on German, his familiarity with technical French not sufficing for his argument. (Beethoven's French had become rusty and it is amusing to see him in his correspondence and conversation with Karl brush up on it,—and Karl, with his superior knowledge of the language and the disrespect of

youth for age, did not hesitate at times to call his uncle to book.) If the letter was sent in French, then Beethoven preferred to ignore this request of Prince Galitzin on May 5, 1823: "though I am not conversant enough with the German language to write it, I understand it sufficiently to express the wish that you answer my letter in German and in your hand, that I may have the pleasure of possessing an autograph letter of yours."

In a third letter, also hastily written to Karl from the country, the words "bring the letter of *G* . . . along with you again, I have hardly read it" probably refers to a letter from Galitzin, but Kalischer's statement that evidently a new letter from the Prince had arrived is not at all convincing. Tabulating from Riemann's German edition of Thayer all the known and unknown letters to and from Beethoven, I find that Galitzin wrote Beethoven on April 29, 1825 and on June 21, 1825, and that in this later letter he refers to one written between these two dates. It is the only one of the three that apparently has not come down to us and does not appear to have been followed by a further letter until January 14, 1826. Assuming that the letter which Beethoven had hardly read, is the very one which thus prompted his draft of an answer, the sequence of this part of the correspondence between him and Galitzin suddenly becomes clear, if one but refers to the following sentence in Galitzin's letter of June 21, 1825: "J'attends avec impatience votre résponse à la lettre que je vous ai écrite *il y a huit jours au sujet d'une contestation entre des musiciens de la capitale.*"

The italics are mine; they serve to establish emphatically the connection between Beethoven's draft of an answer about this *contestation* and Galitzin's apparently unpreserved letter of middle of June, 1825. Whether or no the draft in Karl's best Viennese French actually was sent to Prince Galitzin in form of a letter with Beethoven's signature, remains for me an open question. If it was sent, "summer of 1825" would apply to it as well as to the draft which Kalischer, I suspect, so dated simply because Beethoven sketched his letter at Baden where he spent the summer of that year. However, quite possibly the letter was not sent in view of the fact that no further letters to or from Galitzin are known for the year 1825 after the one of June twenty-first and that, when Galitzin again writes on January 14, 1826, he apologizes for not having thanked his "cher et digne Monsieur van Beethoven" sooner for the receipt of the two overtures. He does not mention at all a letter from Beethoven anent the *contestation* Zeuner nor

Beethoven's promised "next letter" and he is still impatiently waiting for the A minor quartet about which he had read in a musical journal,—the same quartet which, according to Beethoven's letter-draft, was finished and almost ready for its voyage to Russia! But of the third quartet which the composer had called "also almost finished" not even a syllable—a rather strange silence, if Beethoven had sent and Galitzin had received a letter with even so meagre a reference to that quartet.

The overture which Beethoven had decided to dedicate to the Prince was the now seldom played "Die Weihe des Hauses," Op. 124 and, of course, the three quartets were those dedicated to Prince Galitzin: Op. 127 in E flat major, Op. 130 in B flat major and Op. 132 in A minor. To these the "Grosse Fuge," Op. 133 in B flat major must be added. Though dedicated in print to Archduke Rudolph and published separately on May 10, 1827, by Artaria as "Grande Fugue tantôt libre, tantôt recherchée," this fugue, as all quartet-players know, originally formed the last movement of the Quartet, Op. 130. As such it had its first performance in Vienna, together with the other movements, on March 21, 1826, and Beethoven composed the quartet in that form in 1825.

Acting on the advice of the publisher Artaria and others, he composed in November, 1826, the movement which he substituted for the Fugue. Now, the "almost finished" third quartet of Beethoven's letter-draft to Galitzin is the one in B flat major and that, according to Thayer-Riemann, he sent to Russia by special *courier* not long after February, 1826. In other words, Prince Galitzin received this quartet with its original last movement and not with the final one and as perhaps the manuscript copy of the quartet bore a dedication to him, we face the odd bibliographical possibility that two noblemen could feel themselves honored by the dedication of Beethoven's still problematic quartet-fugue, known as Op. 133. Prince Galitzin fared even better because, at least in print, his name also is forever anointed with the substituted last movement of Op. 130.

This B major quartet Beethoven called on his autograph score "third quartet" and the one in A minor, Op. 132 "second quartet" which agrees with the context of his letter-draft. Composed in 1825, published in September, 1827, by Schlesinger and first performed publicly in Vienna on November 6, 1825, by the Schuppanzigh Quartet, the A minor quartet was sent by Beethoven to Prince Galitzin in February, 1826. That the

Prince received both quartets, we know from his letter of November 22, 1826, in which he apologizes for his delayed acknowledgment of receipt of the "deux nouveaux chefs-d'œuvre de votre immortel et inépuisable génie." As for the first quartet, Op. 127 in E flat major, Beethoven composed it in 1824, though he seems to have planned a successor to his Quartet, Op. 95 as early as June, 1822. The first performance of Op. 127 in Vienna took place on March 6, 1825, by the same organization and Schott published it in March, 1826. As for Prince Galitzin, he acknowledged the receipt of the "sublime quatuor" on April 29, 1825, after having heard it played several times.

Middle of June, 1825, he then wrote the lost letter in which he requested Beethoven to act as judge in the musical dispute between Zeuner and other musicians of St. Petersburg. If that letter should turn up, reference to the work, the quotations from which prompted Beethoven as learned judge to charge the jury in favor of Zeuner, would be easy. Without that letter, those without the thematic mind of a Nottebohm will be kept guessing. The first guess that suggests itself, is, of course, the Quartet, Op. 127, but I doubt exceedingly that "les motifs se trouvent," as quoted by Beethoven, in that quartet, or, for that matter, in any of his quartets preceding it. Indeed, I greatly prefer to profess ignorance "in Ansehung der *contestation* Zeuner" to this amazing *salto mortale* of Kalischer: "from a search through the last quartets it would seem to me, that the quoted motif rhythmically perhaps belongs to the Quartet in C sharp minor, Op. 131." The involuntary humor of this hypothesis lies in the fact that Kalischer dates the letter-draft "summer 1825," and that neither Prince Galitzin nor the other disputants nor His Honor Beethoven could possibly have discussed a quartet which its creator did not conceive until end of 1825, and did not complete until middle of July, 1826! Incidentally, the chronology of Beethoven's "last" quartets, including Op. 135 in F major, completed middle of October, 1826 and Op. 137, the Fugue in D major, composed in November, 1817, illustrates glaringly, how misleading the opus numbers are of Beethoven's works.

Quite naturally the three Quartets, Op. 127, 130 and 132 were dedicated "à son Altesse Monseigneur le Prince Nicolas de Galitzin, Lieutenant-Colonel de la Garde de Sa Majesté Impériale de toutes les Russies," since they owed their existence to his initiative, Born in 1795 and a skilled violoncellist, Prince Galitzin exercised a potent influence on the musical life

of St. Petersburg. So ardent an admirer of Beethoven's music was he that for his own purposes he arranged for strings some of Beethoven's pianoforte music and several extant letters of his to Beethoven illustrate the sincerity and depth of this admiration. It took shape in a manner worthy of a *grand seigneur* when Prince Galitzin joined a few crowned heads and the Caecilien-Verein of Frankfort as one of the pitifully small number of subscribers to Beethoven's ill-advised scheme of selling special manuscript copies of his "Missa Solemnis." He did more than this; out of his own resources he performed for the first time anywhere this gigantic work at St. Petersburg on April 6, 1824, about a month prior to its (incomplete) first performance at Vienna on May seventh. These two practically were not followed by a further performance for twenty years and then in Cologne!

As for the three Quartets, he commissioned "Monsieur Louis van Beethoven à Vienne" to compose for him one, two or three string-quartets in his oft-cited letter of November 9, 1822 from St. Petersburg:

> Aussi passionné amateur de musique, que grand admirateur de votre talent, je prends la liberté de vous ecrire, pour vous demander, si vous ne consentirez pas à composer un, deux ou trois nouveaux Quatuors, dont je ferais un plaisir de vous payer la peine ce que vous jugerez à propos de marquer. J'en accepterai la dédicace avec reconnaissance. Veuillez me faire savoir à quel banquier je dois addresser la somme, que vous voulez avoir. L'instrument que je cultive, c'est le Violoncello. J'attends votre réponse avec la plus vive impatience. . . .
>
> Je vous prie d'agréer l'assurance de ma grande admiration et de ma considération distinguée.
>
> Prince Nicolas Galitzin.

Beethoven on January 25, 1823, accepted the commission for a honorarium of 50 ducats for each quartet all the more gladly because he felt himself attracted again to a field of composition not cultivated by him since 1810 and also because Prince Galitzin on February 23, 1823, waived the then customary condition of withholding works so commissioned from publishers for a contractually stipulated time and, indeed, urged on the master not to forego any advantages incident to publication. On May 5, 1823, he then informed Beethoven of having sent to him through the banker Henickstein in Vienna the honorarium of fifty ducats for the first of the commissioned quartets. How long Prince Galitzin had to wait for this *quid*

pro quo the reader already knows. Indeed, the history of the three quartets took a turn which compels biographers of the master to descend to a species of Beethoveniana which make neither for pleasant writing, nor for pleasant reading.

It all turns on the question of whether Prince Galitzin paid Beethoven the stipulated three times 50 ducats for the three Quartets or not. Certain it is that Beethoven himself received only part of the money due him for the three quartets, the Prince's subscription for the manuscript copy of the Mass and a manuscript copy of the Overture, Op. 124. After Beethoven's death the complicated matter became one for an accountant more than for a historian. Having aroused in Beethoven suspicions against the Prince, suspicions unjust and ungentlemanly, Schindler, Holz and nephew Karl soon stirred up and kept alive a scandalous controversy on the subject of Prince Galitzin's indebtedness to Beethoven or rather to nephew Karl. It dragged on until 1858 when the son of Beethoven's benefactor and admirer, Prince George, decided once for all to stop the slurs on his father's memory: he deposited the disputed amount of 125 ducats with his bankers for the heirs of Beethoven. The irony of Fate so ordained that Karl van Beethoven had died three months previously and that even his widow did not receive this money, part of which certainly was a duplicate or over-payment. Indeed, the ultimate disposition of the deposit is unknown, but Mr. Krehbiel made a good argument in favor of his surmise that through Thayer's intervention in 1861 the money was applied later to the education of Karl's daughter Hermine. Those further interested in this rather fantastic case of Beethoven *versus* Galitzin will find it reviewed in Thayer, III, 227-231, but no really clear and impartial understanding of the case can be arrived at unless one turns to Riemann's German edition of Thayer and there reads the whole series of letters of Prince Galitzin, including his own dignified statement of his side of the controversy, reluctantly written in self-defense to Karl van Beethoven from Charkoff on April 16, 1852. Granted that, after a lapse of so many years, Prince Nicolas Galitzin's memory failed him slightly on this or that point, in substance, it seems to me, it makes the unbearable attacks on his honor stand out in a light more favorable to him than to his assailants in this matter which, after all, was largely a matter of unfortunate circumstances and misunderstandings. What manner of a Beethoven enthusiast Prince Galitzin was, this quotation from his prophetic letter of April 8, 1824, to his idol Beethoven after

the first performance anywhere of the "Missa Solemnis" at St. Petersburg on April 6, 1824, a performance due to his own zeal, enthusiasm and generosity, may serve to show:

The effect of this music on the public defies explanation. As for myself, I hardly exaggerate if I tell you that I have never heard anything so sublime; I do not even except the masterworks of Mozart which with all their eternal beauties have not aroused in me the same sensations as have, Sir, the Kyrie and Gloria of your mass. The erudite harmony and the touching melody of the Benedictus transport the soul to realms truly happy. In short, the whole work is a treasure-house of beauties. One may say that your genius has anticipated centuries and that perhaps as yet no audience exists sufficiently enlightened to appreciate fully the beauty of this music, but posterity will render it homage and will bless your memory far more than lies within the powers of your contemporaries.

BARON IGNAZ VON GLEICHENSTEIN

BARON IGNAZ VON GLEICHENSTEIN

The name of Baron von Gleichenstein is familiar to all chamber-music players, for to him, a capable amateur violoncellist, Beethoven dedicated his Violoncello Sonata, Op. 69. Originally from Rothweil near Freiburg, he held the position of "Hofkonzipist" (Court-Secretary or Scrivener) at Vienna in 1804. So did Stephan von Breuning, Beethoven's friend since boyhood-days in Bonn. Under the circumstances, Gleichenstein may well have made the composer's acquaintance about that time. At any rate, he did so not later than the winter of 1806-07 after a temporary absence from the Austrian Capital on account of war-duties. This acquaintance had ripened into firm friendship when Gleichenstein introduced Beethoven to the very musical family of the landed proprietor Jacob von Malfatti, an introduction which was to lead to happiness for one of the two friends, but to unhappiness for the other. In brief, Gleichenstein fell in love with Anna von Malfatti (born in December 7, 1792) and married her in May, 1811; Beethoven became greatly attached to her sister Therese (born January 1, 1792) but his project, in May, 1810, of marrying her, miscarried and Therese, instead of becoming a Frau van Beethoven, preferred in 1817 to be a Baroness von Drosdick.

If one reads Beethoven's letters serially, not chronologically, one observes a consistent difference in shade of tone in each series. That is to say, while all of his notes and letters reflect fundamentally the same personality, he colors his epistolary tone according to the recipient. Thus, for example, his effusions to Karl Holz are distinctly different in tone from those to Baron Zmeskal, though the brand of humor is very much the same, and very different from those to Schindler. Letters to Countess Erdödy would not be mistaken for letters to Nanette Streicher and, of course, his letters to publishers sound different from those to Archduke Rudolph. Similarly the notes and letters to Baron von Gleichenstein have a flavor all their own. Not because Beethoven was perhaps fonder of him than he was of other intimate friends, but because his fondness of Gleichenstein contained nuances more easily felt than described. And this quite apart from the fact that, with one exception, in all the thirty-odd preserved letters to the Baron we find the familiar "Du" (thou). That exception employs the more formal "Sie" (you). For that reason Kast-

ner-Kapp dates the letter ("Ich verlange keine Besuche von Ihnen, Hochgeehrtester") slightly earlier than one dated June 13, 1807, which he prints as the second of the series, but Kapp's reasoning misses entirely the spirit of the letter, the "Sie" doing service merely for humorous purposes.

Of Beethoven's notes and letters few have had such a peculiar history as those to Baron Gleichenstein, first published by Nohl in 1865 in Westermann's Monatshefte. For decades many of them continued to be ascribed to the year 1807, because the biographical *point d'appui* in the letters was the contract which Clementi and Beethoven entered into, with Gleichenstein as witness, on April 20, 1807, whereby Beethoven sold to Clementi & Co. his fourth Piano Concerto, the Violin Concerto, three String Quartets, Op. 59, his Fourth Symphony, the Coriolan Overture and other works. In a letter to his partner Collard two days later, Clementi prided himself on having "at last made a compleat conquest of that *haughty beauty*, Beethoven" and on having struck a "very good bargain" with the acquisition of the "beautiful" violin concerto and the "wonderfully fine" symphony and overture,—no mean praise from so illustrious a composer, teacher, virtuoso and business-man as Muzio Clementi. On the other hand, Beethoven on May 11th informed Count Brunsvik that "he had made out very well with Clementi" and expressed himself as thoroughly satisfied with the fee of 200 Pounds Sterling agreed upon and his right to sell the same works in Germany and France which he promptly proceeded to do.

There was just one little fly in the ointment: Napoleon's "Continental System" against Great Britain prevented Clementi & Co. from paying Beethoven until 1810. Now, the date of payment is the pivotal point in his correspondence with Gleichenstein which establishes the time and sequence of the letters. Max Unger's proof in 1910 that Beethoven did not receive payment until 1810, compelled Beethoven biographers to revise their conclusions about his marriage-project and other important matters and completely upset the established time and order of the Gleichenstein correspondence. In a brilliant piece of work, Hugo Riemann drew the necessary consequences for the German edition of Thayer and published a considerable number of the notes and letters to Baron Gleichenstein in a revised sequence and with abandonment of the year 1807.

This readjustment affected also the following little unsigned and undated note or letter, now in possession of Mr. John Bass.

sej so gut und sieh, dass du das original zu dem aufgesetzten Kontrakt findest—ich brauche es—was willst du denn mit einer abreise ohne mich?—

Translation

be so good and see that you find the original of the drawn-up contract—I need it—but why do you want to depart without me?

Unless I am very much mistaken these few lines to which Riemann attached significance for a most important event in Beethoven's life, do not appear in Kalischer. Presumably he would have connected the contract mentioned with the Clementi contract and would have assigned the little letter, as did Prelinger, to April, 1807, or as others did, at any rate, to that year. And, since Max Unger did not publish his discovery until 1910, quite within reason—except for Beethoven's question. Of course, Beethoven and Gleichenstein may have planned a trip together in 1807, but methodologically, if such a plan is recorded for a later year and is not recorded for 1807, the recorded year ought to have the preference and ordinarily in such epistolary investigations ought to set editors thinking. That is to say, they ought to ask themselves whether or no perhaps the year of some other contract happens to coincide with the year of a recorded journey planned by the two friends.

The answer would have been affirmative with a distinct bearing on the time when Beethoven penned those few lines to Gleichenstein. Now, Gleichenstein is known to have left Vienna in August, 1808, for a visit to his old home in Freiburg and Beethoven expressed pleasure at his friend's return in a letter which he wrote while still in the country, either in September or October. No evidence of any kind exists to the effect that Beethoven had planned to accompany his friend on that journey, but pertinent evidence does exist in connection with a further trip of Gleichenstein to Freiburg a few months later. Strange to say, in view of that evidence the little note just quoted, instead of belonging to April, 1807, turns out to be several months later in date even than the following letter to Gleichenstein which Prelinger assigns to 1808, Kalischer to the first quarter of 1909 and Kastner-Kapp to the fall of 1808. Now at the American Academy of Arts and Letters, New York, in the Courtlandt Palmer collection, the letter, again unsigned and undated, reads:

Liederlicher Baron—ich hab' dich gestern umsonst erwartet —mach nur doch, dass ich weiss, ob mir durch Seine Frechheit

Holz zukomt oder nicht—ich habe einen schönen antrag als Kapellmeister vom König von Westphalen erhalten—man will mich gut bezahlen—ich soll sagen [words crossed out] wie viel Dukaten ich haben will—etc—ich möchte das mit dir überlegen—wenn du daher kannst, kom diesen Nachmittag gegen halb 4 zu mir—diesen Morgen muss ich ausgehn—

Translation

Scamp of a Baron—I waited in vain for you yesterday—see to it that I know whether through His Frechheit [Impudency] I shall get wood or not—I have received a beautiful offer as Kapellmeister of the King of Westphalia—they want to pay me well—I am to say how many ducats I want to have—etc—I should like to take that under advisement with you—hence, if you can, come to me this afternoon about half past three—this morning I must go out—

On the surface, hardly a very interesting document, but no student of Beethoven's life will fail to grasp immediately the significance of the letter as a link in events which vitally affected the remainder of the composer's career.

Obviously both Gleichenstein and Beethoven were in the same city when the letter was written. Secondly, Beethoven conveyed a bit of fresh news to Gleichenstein and since on November 1, 1808, he confided the same news to Count Oppersdorff from Vienna, it follows not only that he cannot have received King Jerome Bonaparte's offer later than November first, but that he desired to talk things over with Gleichenstein about the same time. As for His Frechheit, this is one of the composer's many atrocious puns on names. In this case on the name of a gentleman whom in a letter which preceded the one banteringly addressed to the "scamp of a Baron" he called "your friend Frech." The object of that letter was to obtain through Gleichenstein from "friend Frech" who "the year before" had sold to Breuning kindling-wood cheaply, some cords for himself. How, under these circumstances, Kalischer —obediently followed by Shedlock-Hull—could date both these "Frech" letters "first quarter of 1809" really passes all critical understanding! As certainly as anything may be certain, both letters belong to the fall of 1808, after Gleichenstein had returned to Vienna from Freiburg.

That Beethoven as early as September 3, 1806, had given thought to emigrating from Vienna, we know from his letter of that date to Breitkopf & Härtel. Rightly or wrongly, at

times he complained about life in Vienna and his prospects there. When Napoleon's brother offered him in the fall of 1808 the position at Cassel, Beethoven was in a receptive mood and it required but little in the way of further fancied or real annoyance to persuade him to accept the offer. However, Beethoven, with all his impulsiveness in other things, generally practised a cautious gait in matters of business. He did not permit himself to be rushed into an acceptance of the royal offer and we may take it for granted that he and Gleichenstein talked the matter over calmly and analytically. Then came the celebrated concert of December 22, 1808, at which no less than three works of the calibre of the C minor Symphony, the Pastoral Symphony and the Choral Fantasia, Op. 80, had their first public performance, but a concert from which Beethoven derived more displeasure than pleasure and now, indeed, his bitter mood had reached the decisive stage. How near Vienna came to losing a genius who bestowed glory on her for all time, a few lines from his letter to Breitkopf & Härtel of January 7, 1809, as translated by Thayer, may illustrate: "At last I am forced by the intrigues and cabals and contemptible actions of all kinds to leave the only surviving German fatherland on the invitation of his Royal Majesty of Westphalia. I am going thither as chapelmaster with an annual salary of 600 ducats in gold [about $1410]—I have only to-day sent my assurance that I will come by post and am only waiting for my decree before making preparations for my journey which will be by way of Leipsic." I beg of you to say nothing with certainty about my appointment in Westphalia until I write to you that I have received my decree."

A prudent request in view of what actually happened: laconically on March fourth he informed the same gentlemen that "from the inclosure you will see how things have undergone a change and I stay—though perhaps I shall still contemplate making a little journey, if the now threatening storm-clouds do not become more dense." The inclosure can have been but a copy of or an extract from that contract for which Beethoven asked Gleichenstein in the little note expressing disappointment at the Baron's intended departure without his friend. That the "scamp of a baron" actually did so depart for Freiburg, we know from Beethoven's letter received by him on March eighteenth which begins: "You see, my dear, good Gleichenstein, from the inclosure how full of honor my remaining here has turned out for me. . . . Write to me as soon as possible if you think that I ought to travel in the present war-

like state of affairs and if you are still firmly resolved to travel with me." That the inclosure to Gleichenstein referred with its contents to the same matter as the inclosure to Breitkopf & Härtel is obvious. Also, that the little note owned by Mr. John Bass was written before Gleichenstein left Vienna and after the draft of the contract for which Beethoven asks him had been completed. Thus the date of the little note narrows down to one only slightly prior to the date of the formal contract and for that contract Baron von Gleichenstein's professional advice and help had been sought as on former contractual occasions.

Alarmed by the probability that Beethoven would leave Vienna for Cassel, the Countess Erdödy decided to prevent that calamity and proposed through Beethoven to Gleichenstein "to devise with her a plan which could be used as the basis for negotiations, if, as she believed with certainty, she would be approached in the matter." Beethoven himself sketched his conditions in form of an "Outline of a Musical Constitution." After several conferences they took on the elaborate form of a carefully worded memorial and it is reasonable to discern in it the experienced hand of Gleichenstein. In turn that document of conditions led to the famous "Agreement" of March 1, 1809, by which Archduke Rudolph, Prince Lobkowitz and Prince Kinsky obligated themselves to pay to Beethoven the fixed sum of four-thousand florins annually, and mainly on condition that "Herr Ludwig van Beethoven pledges himself to fix his domicile in Vienna . . . or in another city located in one of the hereditary countries of His Austrian Imperial Majesty, and to depart from this domicile only for such set times as may be called for by his business or the interests of art, touching which absences, however, the high contributors must be consulted and to which they must give their consent."

For the history of music a momentous agreement of unprecedented *noblesse oblige*, but also one of double-edged consequences for Beethoven and the occasion for deplorable, even if temporary, friction between him and the family of one of the "high contributors." Though dated March 1, 1809, it reached the beneficiary on February twenty-sixth. Its full text will be found in Thayer and, of course, its most interesting subsequent history, though in certain details that remains a debatable subject, in my opinion.

JOSEF VON HENICKSTEIN

JOSEF VON HENICKSTEIN

Sie verzeihen mir schon meine Zudringlichkeit, so wie ich wünsche, dass mein Vertrauen zu ihnen Sie nicht beleidige—in diesem Augenblicke treffen mich gerade die meisten u. grössten Auslagen u. mehrere Einnahmen, die mir gesichert sind, habe ich noch nicht empfangen, Verhältnisse u. Rücksichten lassen nicht zu, zu mitteln zu greifen, die mir eben noch zu Gebothe wären—an Sicherheit mangelt es nicht, wenn sie nur sonst gesonnen wären, mir gütigst in dieser augenblicklichen Verlegenheit bejzustehen. Herr V. Oliva wird ihnen alles aufklären, u. ich hoffe, dass Sie mir diese zwar von ihrer Seite fremde Art von Gefälligkeit nicht versagen werden—ich behalte mir vor überall, wo es nur meine geringen Kräfte nicht übertrift, ihnen aufs bereitwilligste zu zeigen, wie willkomen mir ihre Wünsche sejn werden.

Euer Wohlgebohrn
ergebenster
Diener
Ludwig van Beethoven

Wien am 1ten Dezember 1819
(Address) An seine Wohlgebohren Herrn
Joseph Ritter von Henickstein

Translation

You will pardon, I trust, my importunity, just as I wish that my confidence in you may not offend you. At this moment the most numerous and heavy expenses happen to hit me and several revenues, which are certain for me, I have not yet received. Circumstances and considerations do not allow to employ means which would be at my disposal. Security is not wanting, if only you were at all willing to help me out of this very momentary embarrassment. Herr von Oliva will explain everything to you, and I hope that you will not deny me this accommodation, though of a kind not customary with you. I shall endeavor in every way not exceeding my meagre capacity, to show you how welcome your wishes will be to me.

Your Well-born's
most obedient
servant
Ludwig van Beethoven

Vienna, December 1, 1819
(Address) To his Well-born Herrn
Joseph Ritter von Henickstein

The German of this letter now owned by Mrs. Dakin and first published by Riemann in 1907, in the revised fourth volume of the German edition of Thayer from the Posony Collection, is somewhat tortuous, as if Beethoven had been at pains to leave certain matters unsaid, though hinting at their nature between the lines. A reflexion of this peculiarity has been attempted, with only moderate success perhaps, in the translation which is neither free nor literal.

Obviously, Beethoven in his letter to the banker Josef von Henickstein, a music-lover like so many other Viennese aristocrats of gold or blood, paves the way for a loan of money. Whether Franz Oliva enjoyed the trust as intermediary, may be doubted, but Beethoven had a remarkable hold not only on the affection and admiration of his friends, but on their willingness to run errands for him. Oliva was not an exception and in financial matters the fact that he held a position as a clerk in a banking firm became an asset for Beethoven on more than one occasion. If the composer showed his appreciation of services rendered by the dedication of his D-major Variations, Op. 76 on the "Turkish March" in "The Ruins of Athens" to Oliva in 1809, the year their acquaintance seems to have begun, he also did not hesitate to bestow outrageous epithets on him in letters to others, when his fits of distrust and disgust seized him. Indeed, the relations between the two men, quite intimate until 1812, have more or less puzzled biographers because of their curve of up and down until 1820 when Oliva emigrated to St. Petersburg as teacher of languages.

Nothing goes to show that Oliva succeeded as *liaison-officer* between Beethoven and Henickstein and, if Beethoven remained true to form on that unsuccessful occasion, his disappointment in both Oliva and Henickstein presumably for an hour or two, or a day or two, could also have been characterized as "Wut um den verlorenen Groschen."

The security he mentions, unquestionably refers to the famous bank-shares to which, as his legacy to nephew Karl, he clung like a drowning man and which he kept so hidden that at first they could not be found after his death. Is it only imagination on my part, if I seem to read between the lines that Beethoven mentioned security *pro forma* but also in the hope that Henickstein would waive it and trust in God and Beethoven? And was perhaps the last sentence intended to convey to Henickstein in diplomatic language Beethoven's disinclination to pay him a high rate of interest? Whatever

the hidden meaning of these sentences, it stands to reason that Beethoven did not approach the financial magnate of Vienna without urgent cause. He could not very well have cherished the idea of being under such personal obligations to Henickstein whose "house" he frequented in regular banking transactions but whose house he avoided because of the banker's rather mixed musical gatherings.

By no means the first nor the last time for Beethoven to borrow money, or try to, in this instance he needed financial succor for a very definite reason. Among his creditors was the music publisher Steiner and it so happened that on December 30, 1819, there fell due Beethoven's note of October 30, 1819, to Steiner for 750 florins, payable with interest. Evidently in his desperation, the debtor turned to Henickstein for a personal loan, rather than sacrifice one of his bank-shares, but, it would seem, without a sympathetic echo. Moreover, I doubt that Beethoven paid the 750 fl. to Steiner when due and apparently Steiner did not press the debtor-composer energetically for payment until about a year later. Perhaps he would not have done so even then, if it had not become clear to him that he was gradually losing out in the race between publishers for Beethoven's new works. At any rate, when Beethoven answered a "dun" rudely, he wrote Beethoven end of December, 1820, a letter, friendly enough in tone, but reminding him in no uncertain terms of his protracted indebtedness. Beethoven then promised, and Steiner accepted the promise, to pay 1200 fl. by middle of October, 1821, by way of settlement, though Beethoven's computations on the margin of Steiner's letter show an accumulated indebtedness to Steiner of 2420 fl. But the matter did not stop there! Certain it is that Beethoven in a letter of the year 1822, to his brother Johann, conceded that at that time he owed Steiner about 3000 fl. and, if I am not mistaken, he mentions a slightly smaller amount in one of his letters to Archduke Rudolph. The controversy took so ugly a turn that Steiner threatened legal proceedings in February, 1823. Then Dr. Bach, Beethoven's loyal and trusted legal adviser, came to the rescue by convincing Beethoven of the necessity—of parting, after all, with one of his bank-shares! In this transaction Schindler acted as fiscal agent and it is from a remark by Schindler in the Conversations-Hefte of April, 1823, that we know how little Beethoven relished the rôle of chronic debtor: "Don't think day and night incessantly of your debts. You will pay them, when you are well again, without feeling the strain."

P. S.—After writing the above, I found my impression that Oliva's mission did not terminate successfully, verified by Walter Nohl's very important and formidable publication (1924) of all the 137 Conversations-Hefte preserved at the National Library of Berlin. In this first of the three volumes projected, there occur several entries belonging to November and December, 1819, which unmistakably represent conversations between Beethoven and Oliva on the very subject of these pages. It is hard to believe anything else in the face of these sentences, for instance, which are preceded by the name of *Oliva:* "Henickstein said that he, however, was not in a position to make such a deal—when I noticed that nothing would come of it, I turned the matter so as not to prejudice you at all; he reserved for himself to answer you and to excuse himself." (Nohl places the whole "Heft" in which this occurs in November, 1919. In view of Beethoven's letter of December first, may we not conclude that he is in error?) Some entries later, an unnamed person, but probably again Oliva, says that, notwithstanding two refusals, things look decidedly hopeful but that interest would have to be paid. Then hope vanishes again and one will find middle of December this entry: "To the devil with business-men; but I have addressed myself this afternoon to a private person of my acquaintance and so I shall arrange it that you will have the money by about 11 o'clock. You will gain in interest and in the form of the affair." All this interspersed with complicated calculations about interest charges, etc. Finally one reads: "the lender has given 450 florins C. M. for 4 months which, therefore, have to be paid back on April, 18th, when you will receive back your *Actie* (share of stock) *in natura*" and "the lender is a very rich man who owns 5 houses in the city; hence you are also secured in that respect." Oliva—who else could it be under the circumstances—goes on to say that he obtained an interest rate as low as possible—7%! and submits to the evidently bewildered, and confused composer this explanatory financial statement:

Joseph Ritter von Henickstein

he loaned	fl.	450
less interest		10
you get		440—about fl. 1100 Vienna currency.

KARL HOLZ

KARL HOLZ

am Zehnten
sage am 10 ten aug.

Bester Span!
Bestes Holz Christi!

wo bleibt ihr—ich blase den Wind nach Wien, um euch in einem Meerstrudl hieher zu schaffen—wenn das Quartett nur wenigstens bis Frejtag hier ist, wirds aber noch länger, so sorgen sie doch, dass es Karl Sonntags mit sich hieher bringt, dass sie auf's herzlichste willkomen sejn werden, wenn sie selbst komen, wissen sie per se—voila quel home de langue en moi[?]!—mit staunen hör ich, dass die Mainzer gassenbuben wirklich meinen Scherz misbraucht haben, Es ist abscheulich, ich kann betheuern, dass dies gar nicht mein Gedanke war, sondern ohngeföhr nach diesem Witze sollte Castelli ein Gedicht schreiben jedoch nur unter dem Nahmen des Musikal. Tobias, mit Musik von mir, da es aber so geschehen ist, so muss man es als Schickung des Himels betrachten, es gibt ein Seiten Stück zu Göthes Bardt—*sans comparaison* mit irgend einem Schriftsteller—ich glaube aber, dass Tobias selbst an ihnen war verschuldet, et voila die Rache—ist doch imer besser als in den Rachen eines Ungeheuers zu gerathen—Thränen kann ich nicht drüber vergiessen, aber lachen muss ich wie—komen sie am Frejtag, so essen sie am Besten in meiner schlaraffen Hausshaltung—am Ende bewirthe ich einen heimlichen Paternostergässler—ab[er] Piringer wird brumen, schrejen kann er nicht, es geht ihm glaube ich wie jemand von Schrejvogel sagte, er kann nicht schrejen, noch . . . eln—lebt wohl, bestes Holz, schreibt u. komt, jedes zur rechten Zeit.—

eiligst ihr
Freund
Beethoven

(Address) An Seine Wohlgebohren
Hr. V. Holz
abzugeben
auf der Mölker-Bastej No. 96
eine Treppe hoch
im Bergenstamschen Haus
in
Wien

Translation

on the tenth
say on 10th of Aug.

Best of Chips!
Best Wood (Holz) of Christ!

Where do you keep yourself—I am blowing the wind toward Vienna, so as to bring you hither in a maelstrom; if the Quartet is only here by Friday at latest; but if it takes longer, do see to it that Karl brings it along on Sunday. That you will be most heartily welcome if you come yourself, you know per se "voila quel homme de langue en moi"! I am astonished to hear that the Mayence street-arabs have actually misapplied my joke! Is is abominable, I can assure you that this was not at all my idea, but something like this—that Castelli should write a poem on this joke, but only under the name of the musical Tobias, with music by me; however, as it has turned out thus, we must regard it as a dispensation of heaven, it supplies a pendant to Goethe's *Bardt—sans comparaison* with any writer whatsoever. I believe, though, that Tobias himself sinned against them somehow—*voila* the revenge! it's better, anyhow, than to get between the teeth of some monster! I can't shed tears over it, but I have to laugh like———. If you come on Friday, you will do best to eat in my voluptuous household—at the end I shall serve you privy Pasternostergässler—but Piringer will growl, he can't scream, he's in the same fix I think as somebody said about Schreyvogel, he can neither scream (schreyen) nor . . . farewell, best of wood, write and come, each at the right time.

in a great hurry

Your friend
Beethoven

(Address) To his Well-born
Hr. V. Holz
deliver at the Mölker-Bastey No. 96
one flight of stairs up in Bergen-
stamm's House in Vienna

This letter, as translated by Dr. Theodore Baker and owned by the New York Public Library in its essentials is not so cryptic as it looks. It was written to Karl Holz (1798-1858), an Austrian Treasury-official and a capable musician. Indeed, capable enough to become the second violin in the renowned Schuppanzigh Quartet in 1824 and to conduct at various times the *Concerts Spirituels* at Vienna. He seems to have won the

friendship of Beethoven in 1825 and soon became his *fac-totum*, replacing Anton Schindler in that capacity. Possibly this accounts for the fact that Schindler attributed a bad influence to Holz on Beethoven's habits. Some have gone so far as to call the cheery and pleasure-loving Holz Beethoven's *Mephisto*. Thayer takes a very different view of the relationship and gives Holz credit for the "invaluable" services which he rendered Beethoven. "He aided him," he says, "in the copying of his works, looked into the affairs of nephew Karl and reported on them, advised him in his correspondence, and directed his finances at a time when he was more than ordinarily desirous to acquire money so that he might leave a competency on his death to his foster-son. In time Beethoven came to entrust weighty matters to his decision, even the choice of publishers and his dealings with them." To such an extent did Holz win the confidence of Beethoven that in August, 1826, the master in a signed document endorsed the project of Holz to write Beethoven's biography. This project did not materialize. Fortunately, because as a biographer Holz would hardly have measured up to that task more wisely than he did to other matters concerning Beethoven's best interests. With this last remark I find myself at odds with Thayer, for I am unable to endorse fully the complete rehabilitation of Holz in historical opinion for which both the German and the American editions plead. On this subject there may be room for debate, but that a lowering of tone occurs in Beethoven's letters to Holz and skirts not only frivolity but vulgarity, that, I believe, cannot be denied. Towards the end of 1826, the relations between Beethoven and Holz cooled off perceptibly and when the master's end approached, of the two rivals for favors as *famulus* and *fac-totum*, not Holz but Schindler was destined to sacrifice himself in attention to the dying composer's wants.

After having rung two of his favorite changes on the name of Holz—Best Mahoghany, Best *lignum Christi* were others—Beethoven alludes to the String Quartet in A minor, Op. 132, completed a few weeks earlier as the second of the three quartets commissioned by Prince Galitzin. He had entrusted his manuscript to Holz for copying and, not hearing from him, began to worry. To what extent, one may read in his letter of August 11, 1825, to nephew Karl:

Dear Son! I am in mortal anguish about the Quartet . . . I hear nothing from Holz . . . what a terrible accident, if he should have lost it. He is drinking heavily, between you and me. Re-

assure me as quickly as possible. . . . For God's sake put my mind at rest about the Quartet, terrible loss. It was sketched on nothing but scraps of paper, and never again shall I be able to re-write the whole. Your faithful Father.

Well may Beethoven have worried, for this was the second of the quartets commissioned by Prince Galitzin and dedicated to him. But evidently Holz was not drinking heavily enough to lose such a master-work: it was first performed privately on September 9, 1825, "At the Wild Man" inn by the Schuppanzigh Quartet and by the same quartet publicly on November 6, 1825, but not published by Schlesinger until September, 1827.

After the allusion to this Quartet, Beethoven refers to an episode which caused him neither less nor more annoyance than it did Tobias Haslinger, one of his principal Viennese publishers. Under the heading "A joke on Haslinger miscarried," Thayer narrates the circumstances, but, in my opinion, does not properly balance the responsibility for the occurrence between the "Mayence street-arabs," that is, the publishers B. Schott Söhne, and Beethoven, whom his biographer exonerates unduly. As I see them, the facts are briefly as follows.

On January 22, 1825, Beethoven wrote to Bernhard Schott a letter about sundry matters—among them his ever-recurring wish for a complete collection of his works—and then he continued:

Here inclosed a few *canones* for your *journal* [Schott's magazine 'Caecilia']—three more will follow—as supplement for a *romantic* biography in three parts of Tobias Hasslinger here residing. First Part: Tobias finds himself helper of the celebrated saddle-fast Capellmeister *Fux*—and holds the ladder to his *Gradus ad Parnassum.* Now, inclined to practical jokes, he causes through shaking and pushing of the ladder many who had already climbed fairly far up to break their necks, etc. He then takes leave of our lump of earth and comes to light again in the days of *Albrechtsberger.* Second Part: The already existing Fuxian *Nota cambiata* is now treated jointly with *A.;* the changing notes are set forth to the limit; the art of creating musical skeletons is cultivated to the utmost, etc. Tobias then spins himself into a caterpillar and so develops again and appears for the third time on this world. Third Part: The scarcely grown wings hasten now toward the *Paternoster*gässl; he becomes Paternostergässlerian *Kapellmeister;* having gone through the school of changing notes [Wechselnoten], he retains nothing of them but the change and so he produces his friend of youth and finally becomes member of several

inland *emptied*[1] [geleerter] societies, etc. If you ask him, he will surely permit that this biography be published.

The humor of this slightly silly and clumsy skit (which Beethoven, by the way, expected the literary pen of Castelli to develop) was, of course, entirely at the expense of Haslinger and, while not insulting, not very complimentary. On February 5, 1825, he urged Schott again to "give himself the fun of asking Tobias for my biography of him. That is the right way of dealing with these people . . . he really was the one who advised me against you . . . Steiner [Haslinger's partner] . . . is a thief of the first order and a very rascally man; the Tobias is more of a weak fellow and rather obliging, and I use him for sundry purposes." After this effusion in rather questionable taste about Haslinger to his competitor Schott, he mentioned in his letter of March 19, 1825, the *canons*, but not the "romantic biography." This letter contained not the slightest hint that the sketch had been sent merely for Schott's private amusement and was not intended for publication together with the *canons*. Whereupon Schott's "Caecilia" printed both as conveyed in Beethoven's letter of January, announcing the affair as the outline of a "humorous, romantic biography" of Haslinger which soon would appear in three parts.

Beethoven's nephew Karl brought the publication to his uncle's attention. Beethoven, in a letter to him, laughingly protested that the skit had been intended as a joke and not for publication but, though criticizing Schotts for their indiscretion, he said "since it has happened, it does not matter. Our age needs vigorous spirits to chastise these petty, perfidious, miserable rascals of human souls—much as my heart dislikes to hurt a human being." (And this after his own indiscreet, uncomplimentary remarks about Haslinger to Schott! Verily, the ways of genius are sometimes peculiar.) His letter to Holz then merely embellishes that idea, but it was not to be the end of the episode in which Beethoven really did not cut the best of figures.

On August 13, 1825, there followed a letter of protest to Bernhard Schott in which Beethoven "with amazement notices" the publication of the *canons* not only, but of his pleasantry about Haslinger communicated to Schott merely as a friend. With a great show of indignation he protested that the publication of such insults was not in keeping with his

[1]Literal; in his own translation Mr. Shedlock skilfully substitutes *empty-headed* in order to produce the effect of Beethoven's "geleert" instead of "gelehrt" [learned], both words having the same pronunciation.

character, that Schott ought to have known this and ought not to have permitted the pleasantry about "his esteemed friend Herr Tobias Haslinger" to get into print, that Schott had abused the privilege of private correspondence, had permitted himself the absurdity of calling and inserting the *canons* as "a supplement," and that "the word *geleert* which belonged to the humoristic outline in its totality, could very well pass in circles where one converses with gay jokes, but never was it the intention publicly to put it down instead of *gelehrt*. That would carry the joke too far!" After thus having completely forgotten the tenor of his January letter to Schott, he finally demanded prompt publication of his protest in the "Caecilia" as the only true statement of the facts in the case. Not, however, without first—and here one might see the signs of a not altogether easy conscience—having suggested as the explanation and cause of the unfortunate misunderstanding—his hasty and often illegible handwriting! This formal and formidable protest is followed by a postscript in which Beethoven again demands insertion of his protest in the "Caecilia." According to Kalischer only that postscript is in Beethoven's own hand. He conjectures that the (registered!) letter itself was forced on Beethoven and dictated by the irrate Haslinger himself. However that may be, Schott's "Caecilia" apparently paid no attention to Beethoven's demands and the net result of Beethoven's "joke" was that he continued to be on good terms with both Haslinger and Schott.

Very different is the subject of an undated letter to Karl Holz which belonged to the late Miss Amy Lowell. It refers to an episode in Beethoven's life, when the joke was on him.

Die bejden Herren waren da—man will sie aber von bejden Seiten ermahnt haben, wegen dem orden das höchste Stillschweigen zu beobachten, Haslinger behauptet, dass sie in diesem Stücke ein sohn des verstorbenen papageno's sind—prénéz garde—Karl sagte ich heute, dass festgesetzt wäre, dass er nur mit mir oder ihnen sich aus dem Spitale begeben könne—ich speise morgen zu Hause, es wird mir also angenehm sein wenn Sie komen, da Sie morgen kein Amt halten, so können sie auch später komen, welches wirklich nöthig.—Portez vous bien, Monsieur terrible amoureux.— [scrawls; representing tears?]

Ihr indeclinabeler Freund
B-e-e-t-ho-ven
Beethoven

(Address) Pour pr. congé
Monsieur de Holz

Ich erwarte einige Zeilen, dass Sie morgen sicher komen, weil ich sonst nicht zu Hause, Apropos, haben sie was von unserem M—t zu berichten?

Translation

The two gentlemen were here—but one desires them warned from both sides to observe in the matter of the Order the strictest silence. Haslinger contends that you in that piece are a son of the deceased Papageno—*prenez garde*—

Karl I told to-day that it has been decided that he may leave the hospital only with me or you—I dine to-morrow at home, hence, it will be agreeable to me if you come; since you are not at your office to-morrow, you may also come later and that is really necessary.

Portez-vous bien, *Monsieur terrible amoureux*

Your indeclinable friend
B-e-e-t-ho-ven
Beethoven

(Address) To take leave of
Monsieur de Holz

I expect a few lines that you will come to-morrow without fail, because otherwise I shall not be at home, Apropos, have you something to report about our M—t?

Kalischer dates this letter, omitting the postscript (October?), 1826. (It is not in Shedlock-Hull.) Why Kalischer should have had doubts about end of September, 1826 as the date, is incomprehensible for the reason that, as was also clear to him, the letter must have been written at the time when nephew Karl was just about to leave the hospital, as cured, after his attempt at suicide end of July. He left the hospital on September twenty-fifth and he and Beethoven did not journey to Johann van Beethoven's at Gneixendorf until September twenty-eighth.

Holz is called (in atrocious French) a "monsieur terrible amoureux" because he had fallen terribly in love, much to the amusement of Beethoven; he married in December. The reference to the "deceased Papageno" is, of course, to Mozart's "Magic Flute." Who "the two gentlemen" enjoined to strictest secrecy were I do not know, possibly Dr. Spicker, librarian of the King of Prussia and Tobias Haslinger who are recorded as having visited Beethoven together. And the order? Thereby hangs the episode in which the joke was to be on Beethoven.

The Ninth Symphony was written out in score in February, 1824, was first performed at Vienna on May 7 of that

year, sold during the summer for 600 florins to B. Schott's Söhne at Mayence and finally delivered to them for engraving in January, 1825. There remained to be settled the question of to whom to dedicate his "greatest symphony," as Beethoven called it. The answer to that question consumed practically as much time as the engraving and printing of the music. We know from Prince Galitzin's letter to Beethoven of June 16, 1824, that originally Beethoven had intended dedicating the symphony to Emperor Alexander of Russia. This plan he abandoned because of certain irksome, bureaucratic formalities. Early in the year the King of France had bestowed on Beethoven the greatest distinction he ever was to receive from royalty. In addition to paying his 50 ducats as a subscriber for a special copy of the "Missa solemnis," Louis XVIII conveyed to the composer his respect in form of a gold medal weighing twenty-one Louis d'ors, with the bust of His Majesty on one side and on the other, within a wreath, the inscription *Donnée par le Roi à Monsieur Beethoven.* This wholly unexpected, magnificent mark of royal favor so impressed Beethoven that he could be persuaded only on the grounds of discomfort from not wearing the medal round his neck at the *première* of the Ninth! It was but human that the flattered composer then bethought himself of Louis XVIII as a deserving candidate for dedicatory honors. However, neither the King of France nor Ferdinand Ries, though so promised in a letter, were to receive the highest distinction which genius could bestow on them.

How leisurely Beethoven went about the business of dedicating the Ninth may be inferred from the fact that as late as August 2, 1825, in a letter to Schott he merely could say "the symphony will be dedicated to a great personage." Indeed, as late as end of January, 1826, he confronted his impatient publisher with the same indecision. However, sometime early in that year his choice fell definitely on the King of Prussia, urged on him in 1824, for the dedication in competition with Louis XVIII. Now it so happens that the King of Prussia when subscribing for one of the special copies of the "Missa solemnis" diplomatically left Beethoven the choice between the 50 ducats and a decoration. Beethoven took the money—but apparently kept the decoration in mind, for the future, though in the past he had repeatedly ridiculed such "silly baubles." His reason for such a change of attitude we have in his own words in a letter he wrote to his friend Franz Wegeler on October 7, 1826:

As for my diplomas, only briefly this that I am Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Sciences in Sweden, likewise in Amsterdam and also Honorary Citizen of Vienna.—Recently a certain Dr. Spicker has taken my last Grand Symphony with Choruses with him to Berlin. It is dedicated to the King and I had to write the dedication with my own hand. I had already applied to the Embassy for the permission to dedicate the work to the King and it was granted. At the instance of Dr. Spicker I had to deliver to him personally the corrected manuscript with the corrections in my own hand for the King, since it is to be placed in the Royal Library. They let me hear something about the Order of the Red Eagle, second class. What will become of this, I do not know. Never have I gone out of my way for such a bestowal of Honor, but in these times and for certain reasons it would not be unwelcome.

From this simple narrative no one could possibly suspect the maneuvers and formalities necessary for possibly obtaining, by virtue of the dedication of the Ninth Symphony, the not unwelcome bauble of the Order of the Red Eagle, second class. They may be read in Thayer (with much greater detail in the German edition) in conjunction with certain letters of Beethoven to Schott, not there quoted, which thicken the plot. At last Beethoven was officially at liberty to proceed as instructed and to place, probably end of September, into Dr. Spicker's hands, a handsomely bound manuscript copy of the symphony together with this letter:

Your Majesty:

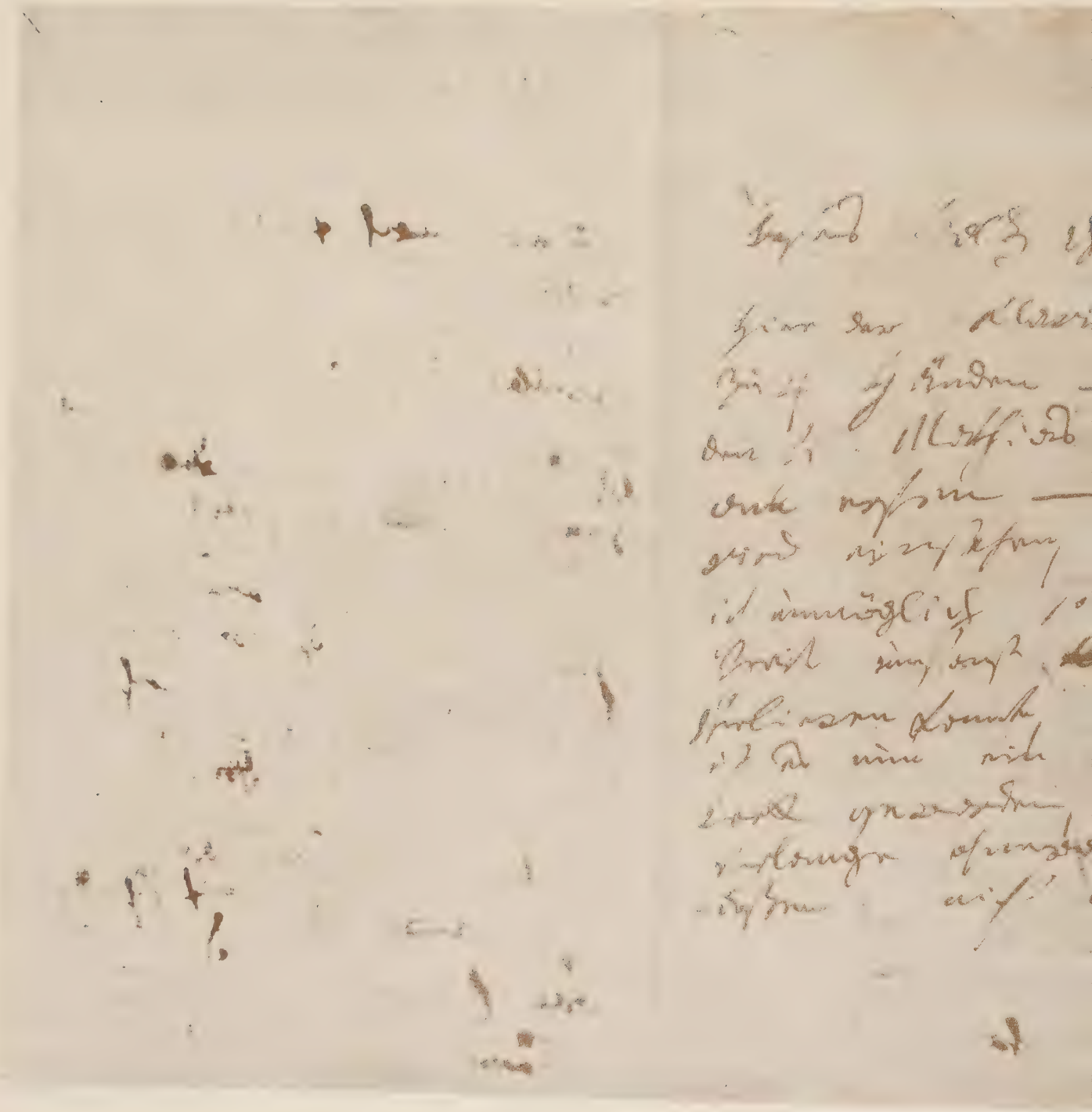
It is a piece of great good fortune in my life that Your Majesty has graciously allowed me to dedicate the present work to you.

Your Majesty is not only the father of your subjects but also protector of the arts and sciences; how much more, therefore, must I rejoice in your gracious permission since I am also so fortunate as to count myself a citizen of Bonn and therefore one of your subjects.

I beg of Your Majesty graciously to accept this work as a slight token of the high reverence which I give to all your virtues.

Your Majesty's
Most obedient servant
Ludwig van Beethoven

This was—with Dr. Spicker's help—in approved and proper dedicatory style and brought forth the following acknowledgment by His Majesty:



In view of the recognized worth of your compositions it was very agreeable for me to receive the new work which you have sent me. I thank you for sending it and hand you the accompanying diamond ring as a token of my sincere appreciation.

Friedrich Wilhelm

Berlin, November 25, 1826
To the composer Ludwig van Beethoven

No Order of the Red Eagle, but a mere diamond ring—and not even that!! For, as Thayer quotes the story from Schindler, "when the case containing the King's gift was opened it was found to contain, not a diamond ring as the letter had described it, but one set with a stone of 'reddish' hue which the court jeweller to whom it was shown appraised at 300 florins, paper money. Beethoven was very indignant and was with difficulty dissuaded from sending it back to the Prussian Ambassador; eventually he sold it to the jeweler at the value which he had set upon it. Whether or not the ring was the one really sent from Berlin or one which had been substituted for it (as was suspected in some quarters), has never been determined."

In addition to the two letters discussed above, at least a third letter to Karl Holz found its way to America many years ago. It is now owned by Mr. Harold Randolph of Baltimore and possesses particular significance because apparently it has remained *unpublished.* As generally in such cases, the contents of the letter help to clarify a special episode in Beethoven's life. The letter taxes the gift of divination of the transcriber, but fortunately the obscure words (obscure to me) do not complicate the sense for the translation.

Bestes Holz Christi!

Hier der klavier auszug zu 4 Händen—für den H. Mathias gott gebe am [?]—derselbe wird einsehen, dass ich unmöglich so viel Zeit umsonst verlieren konnte, auch ist es nun ein eigenes werk geworden, ich verlange ohnbeachtet dessen nicht mehr als 12 # in gold, setze man den Fall voraus, dass ich mich gleich dazu verstanden hätte, den K. A. selbst zu machen, so konnte man mir nicht weniger als ein Honorar von 25 bis 30 # bieten, aus rüksicht aber, dass A. die 100 fl. w. w. gleichfalls verlohren habe, begnüge ich mich mit der oben angegebenen sum̃e, sie wissen, dass ich hiebej nicht gewinne, sondern vielmehr verliere, das Schon abgeredete Penale könnte auch im̃er noch füglich abgetragen werden, indem sich denn doch unser beste H. Mathias gröblich gegen mich vergangen hat in Ansehung des nehmen wollen [?] u.

nicht genomenen quartets—übrigens weiss Hr. M. ohnehin, dass wir ihm gern auch öfter ohne Bezahlung behülflich sind u. sejn werden—der jetzige Dienst, den ich ihm mit dem K. A. erwiesen ist aber zu knechtisch, als dass ich nicht auf Schadloshaltung dringen müsse—indem ich sie nun als Executor in dieser Sache ernenne, bitte ich sie würdiger Herr alles in Empfang zu nehmen.

ihr

(No address) Beethoven

Translation

Best Wood of Christ!

Here the piano score for 4 hands—for the H. Mathias. God give [?]—he will understand that I could not possibly lose so much time for nothing. Also, it has now become a special work of mine. Nevertheless I do not ask more than 12 ducats in gold. Suppose the case that I had agreed from the beginning to make the piano-score myself, one could not have offered me a fee of less than 25 to 30 ducats. In consideration, however, that A [rtaria] has also lost the 100 florins, Viennese Currency I content myself with the amount indicated above. You know that I hereby *do not profit but on the contrary lose.* The already agreed Poenale could also still be paid off rightly, because our best H. Mathias has really given me a raw deal in view of his wanting to take [?] the quartet then not taken—However, Hr. M. knows anyhow that we gladly and often are at his service without payment and shall be—but the present service which I rendered him is too slavish not to have to insist on compensation—Appointing you now Executor in this matter, I beg of you, honorable Sir, to receive everything.

Your

(No address) Beethoven

The mere fact that the letter was written to Holz assigns it to either 1825 or 1826, but the context definitely places the letter in 1826. For the reason that this epistle of instructions to Karl Holz as Executor refers plainly to Beethoven's Op. 133, the "Grande Fugüe tantôt libre, tantôt recherchée" for string-quartet published by Mathias Artaria of Vienna on May 10, 1827. The history of this Fugue was briefly sketched in connection with the letter to Prince Galitzin, but may be repeated here to save the reader the trouble of turning pages.

The active interest of the firm of Artaria in Beethoven's works will appear from this array of his works published by it: Op. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 46, 48, 51, 63, 64, 66, 72 (Fidelio, third version), 87, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 113, 114, 130, 133, 134,

not to mention sundry works without opus numbers. That Beethoven occasionally felt irritated by this publisher as he did, when the temper seized him, by practically every other of his various publishers, goes without saying, just as he must have irritated all of them time and again. Perhaps the allusion to a quartet which Beethoven expected Artaria to take, relates to some such incident. At any rate, we know that Artaria was among the unsuccessful competitors for the E flat major Quartet, Op. 127. This, the first of the three quartets commissioned by Prince Galitzin, was acquired by Schott; the second (in order of composition) Op. 132 in A minor Schlesinger took and only the third, the one in B flat major, Op. 130 went to Artaria. That quartet was composed in 1825 with a fugue as the last movement and that fugue particularly taxed the executive powers of the Schuppanzigh Quartet and the receptive powers of the audience at the first performance on March 21, 1826.

Among those who questioned the wisdom of retaining the fugue and persuaded the composer to substitute as last movement the one composed in the Fall of 1826, with which the work was then published, was precisely Mathias Artaria, with whom Beethoven had become quite intimate. Artaria proposed that, if the master followed his advice, he would issue the fugue separately and would pay him for the new movement. Thus it came about that the original last movement of Op. 130 saw the light of day, with a dedication to Archduke Rudolph, as Op. 133 under the title quoted, though on Artaria's autograph score called "Overture." Shortly after Beethoven's acceptance of the advice of his critical friends, Artaria, in a Conversations-Heft belonging to about April 11, 1826, remarked: "There have been already many requests for a four-hand arrangement of the Fugue. Do you permit that I publish it in that form?—Score, the parts, the Fugue *à 4 Mains* arranged by you, to be published simultaneously." Beethoven evidently approved of this practical idea but, instead of making the arrangement himself, requested the pianist Anton Halm who had played the B flat major Trio at Schuppanzigh's concert of March twenty-first, to do so. Halm submitted his arrangement on April 24th with a very respectful letter to Beethoven who disliked the pianistic distribution of the parts as Halm many years later told Thayer: "Therefore, Beethoven arranged the Fugue himself and so it was published." As Op. 134, which explains Beethoven's remark about "a special work." No less a pianistic celebrity than Franz Liszt

made it his business to edit the work for the "first complete" edition of Beethoven's pianoforte compositions published by L. Holle (Wolfenbüttel) long ago forgotten, but preserved in the New York Public Library. A copy of the still scarcer original edition is at the Library of Congress. Harold Bauer, whose attention I drew to the whole episode, examined both editions and favored me with the following note on Beethoven's own arrangement:

> Beethoven seems to have kept Halm's arrangement while making his own, which in my opinion, he wrote impatiently and hastily, reversing, for the sake of visual effect of separate voices, and totally regardless of difficulty in performance, all that Halm had done in order to make it pianistically playable.
>
> Because of certain unnecessary, and in most cases, quite ineffective modifications in the passage work, it appears doubtful that Beethoven referred to the original score in making his arrangement, the main value of which lies in his implicit recognition of the fact that the composition exceeds the technical limitations of a string-quartet, for, commencing with the first notes of the introduction, the basses are frequently doubled, and throughout the entire work there is an obvious intention to suggest a greater continuity of effect in the use of the thematic material than the four stringed instruments with their unavoidable changes of register could possibly obtain.

The piece does not appear in the "Gesamtausgabe" of Beethoven's works. Perhaps because the editors thereof accepted Schindler's statement that the arrangement published by Artaria was actually that of Halm and not of Beethoven. Halm's own narrative refutes Schindler definitely and, furthermore, Artaria would hardly have dared mislead the public by giving to Op. 134 the same main title as to Op. 133, merely adding "et arrangée pour le Pianoforte par l'auteur même. Oeuvre 134."

One can hardly blame Beethoven for demanding payment for his service of slavery—ordinarily he detested making arrangements of his works—but, on the other hand, Artaria at first could not quite see the matter through Beethoven's eyes. He had paid on May 12, 1826, Halm 40 ducats in good faith, not expecting that Beethoven, beyond perhaps suggesting this or that improvement, would reject Halm's arrangement. How Beethoven felt about the matter, we know from the quoted unpublished letter not only, but from a published

(rather courteous) letter to Artaria's confidential agent. In this he said:

I do not at all wish to compel him [Artaria] to take my arrangement for piano. I therefore send you the piano score of Halm so that, upon receipt of my piano score, you may deliver Halm promptly to M. A. [Mathias Artaria]. If, however, Herr A. wants to retain my piano-score for the fee of 12 ducats in gold, I demand only that he put that in writing or pay you the fee in hand—for which purpose I inclose a receipt. The piano-score cannot be debited to me in any way.

To this ultimatum he added "you know my situation,"—one of his numerous allusions to straitened circumstances. From a question of Holz in July we know that the dispute had not yet been settled, but Artaria then finally decided to drop Halm's arrangement and to accept and publish Beethoven's own and on Beethoven's terms, the only decision compatible with normal business acumen. His expense-books show that he paid Beethoven the stipulated 12 ducats in gold on September 12, 1826.

From the above sequence of events it follows that Mr. Randolph's letter best be dated May or June, 1826, but it also follows that certain remarks in Beethoven's hand which Kastner-Kapp prints as No. 1368 and as appearing "Auf dem Entwurf von Opus 133" absolutely preclude the date 1825 which he gives to them. They read without comment other than that apparently they relate to Beethoven's words about "the Penale already agreed upon" in the letter, as follows:

1. Pönale consisting of two Clementi piano-methods and three select prints of the portraits of L. van Beethoven. 2. A fine in money because of this and that, and sundry. 3. The M [manuscript] of this piano-score will be paid for or returned to the author.

I am of the opinion that one of the portraits alluded to was the drawing by Decker, first published in 1824.

CARL FRIEDRICH MÜLLER

CARL FRIEDRICH MÜLLER

Euer wohlgebohren!

Mit Vergnügen bin ich bereit ihnen, wie jedem wahren Künstler zu dienen [illegible word] möglich werde ich ihr Zutrauen rechtfertigen, wenn sie sich nur nicht selbst täuschen in dem, was Sie bej mir zu finden, glauben—

Mit herzlicher
Bereitwilligkeit
Euer wohlgebohren
Ergebenster
Beethoven

Wien
am 8 ten Agus [sic!]

Translation

Your well-born!

With pleasure I stand ready to serve you and every true artist [illegible words] if possible, I shall justify your confidence. If only you do not deceive yourself with what you believe to find in me—

With hearty readiness
Your well-born's most respectful
Beethoven

Vienna, 8th of
August

This little letter (not in Shedlock-Hull) is undated, but is placed by the authorities in either 1817 or 1818, though they have their doubts about the year. When Dorow first published it in 1838 as No. 22 of his fac-similes of the hand-writing of famous men and women, he remarked, according to Kalischer, on p. 8 of his work: "Ludwig von Beethoven in Wien an den Kapellmeister C. F. Müller in Berlin." The latter was born in 1796 in Holland and became the singing-teacher at the Friedrich-Wilhelm Gymnasium in Berlin, after having been a concert-pianist. He may have met Beethoven in Vienna on one of his concert-tours. The nature of his request I have not ascertained, but possibly Müller's request and Beethoven's answer are connected with Beethoven's little waltz for piano in D major and his "Ecossaise" for piano in E flat major (Gesamtausgabe of his works, Serie 25, Nos. 304 and 305). He contributed the former to a collection of "50 Walzer" issued by C. F. Müller in 1826, the latter to the same compiler's "collection of sundry society dances for the Carnival," published, according to Mandyczewski, under the title of "Ernst und Tändeley" by Sauer and Leidesdorf in Vienna and advertised in the Wiener Zeitung on January 4, 1826.

If this supposition is correct, then one wonders why the authorities date the letter so early as 1817 or 1818. At any rate, we have in this letter, as preserved at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a modest, obliging and respectful communication from a genius of the first rank to a comparatively unimportant fellow-artist which may well set those composerlings thinking whose self-seeking, self-centered conceit generally stands in an inverse ratio to their talent and skill.

CHARLES NEATE

CHARLES NEATE

Hr. Neate hat von mir im Monathe juli 1816 3 overturen im Namen der Philharmonischen Gesellschaft in London genomẽn, und mir hiefür ein honorar von 75 Guineen zukomẽn machen, wofür ich mich verbinde dieselben nirgend anderswo in Stimẽn ♯ stechen zu lassen, jedoch steht mir das Recht zu, Selbe aufzuführen wo ich will, so wie auch selbe im Klavierauszuge herauszugeben, jedoch nicht eher als bis mir Hr. Neate schreiben wird, dass Sie in London aufgeführt worden sind;—übrigens hat mir Hr. Neate versichert, dass er es gefälligst auf sich nehme, dass die Philharmonische Gesellschaft mir nach einem Zeitraume von einem oder 2 Jahren erlauben werde, diese 3 overturen auch in Partitur u. Stimẽn im Stich herausgeben zu dürfen, da ich nur mit ihrer Erlaubniss dieses thun kann—womit ich mich der P. G. bestens empfele.

Wien am 5 ten Februar 1816

Ludwig van Beethoven

♯ wie auch in Partitur

Translation

Mr. Neate has taken of me in the month of July 1816 [*recte* 1815] 3 overtures in the name of the Philharmonic Society in London and has transmitted to me for the same a honorarium of 75 guineas in consideration of which I bind myself not to permit them to be engraved in parts ♯ anywhere else, but the right is mine to perform them wherever I please as well as to issue them in pianoscore, though not before Mr. Neate shall have written me that they have been performed in London;—however, Mr. Neate has assured me that he will kindly take it upon himself that the Philharmonic Society will permit me after a lapse of one or two years to publish these 3 overtures also in score and parts in an engraved edition, inasmuch as I can do this only with their consent—with which I present my compliments to the P. S.

Vienna, February 5, 1816

Ludwig van Beethoven

♯ or in score

Though not, strictly speaking, a letter, this document finds a place here because of its strange history. This *recipisse*, as Beethoven would have called it, was acquired at a sale in 1913 at London by Mr. Richard Aldrich and was described by

him in the Monthly Journal of the International Musical Society in 1913, No. 3, p. 78-80. From that article I have gleaned what (with slight elaboration) is necessary for the understanding of the document.

The receipt-agreement refers to Beethoven's three overtures Op. 113, 115, and 117 ("Die Ruinen von Athen," the so-called "Overtüre zur Namensfeier" and "König Stefan"). The date in the first line is obviously another evidence of Beethoven's carelessness in such matters; it should plainly be 1815 instead of 1816. Presumably the document was delivered by hand, since it shows no signs of having been through the post.

Until Mr. Aldrich printed the original German text, this document always was supposed to have been written by Beethoven in English. Indeed, it does not seem to have been suspected that the document existed in German. Hence, Kalischer has it in slightly garbled English as No. 492 of his edition of Beethoven letters, and Prelinger as No. 399, he adding the further mistake of reducing the 75 guineas to a paltry 25. Thayer, sharing the general opinion, went out of his way to state that "das Original ist english"—and thus it came about that the document appeared in the first and second editions of his monumental Beethoven biography, both editions in German, in a translation into German. With the consequence that this German text differs widely from the rugged and awkward German of Beethoven!

When Mr. Shedlock's turn came to include the document in his English edition of Kalischer's five volumes, there was nothing to translate in this instance because all he had to do was to copy the supposedly original, English text. He so did and thus fell as one more victim to circumstantial evidence and to a misleading title-line in the English paraphrase (1841) by Ignaz Moscheles of Schindler's Life of Beethoven. In the appendix of the work, Moscheles printed a number of Beethoven letters, also translated by him into English, and among them (Vol. II. p. 231) this "Manuscript Agreement, as drawn up by Beethoven for the Philharmonic Society of London," etc.

Mr. Aldrich surmises that the autograph, in collectors' parlance a holograph, i. e., in Beethoven's hand throughout, "was given by Neate to Moscheles when the latter was making his translation of Schindler's 'Life,' and that it remained in his possession and that of his heirs till a recent date, when, apparently with a number of other important musical autographs, many of them addressed to Moscheles himself, it was

disposed of in the London literary market." The curious thing about all this is that the former owner apparently never made the slightest attempt to give Beethoven his dues and incidentally to get more credit for what he possessed. Then, when at last A. D. 1921, Thayer's biography of Beethoven saw the light of day in the author's native language, Mr. Krehbiel (Vol. II, p. 333) set matters right by briefly alluding to the German original in Mr. Aldrich's possession and printed, with a few changes by way of improvements, the English text of Moscheles as what it really was—a translation, which I, in turn, have slightly modified to allow a better comparison with the original German.

That Beethoven kept faith with the Philharmonic Society we learn from Thayer's remark that "the three overtures had already been sold to Steiner [the Viennese publisher], but were not published till six years later." This is, however, slightly incorrect, because Op. 113 was published in 1823; Op. 115 and Op. 117 saw the light of day in 1825. The Philharmonic Society, by the way, did not rate the three overtures very highly. At any rate, Beethoven in a letter to Ferdinand Ries on April 30, 1819, expressed his annoyance and astonishment at Neate's reports to that effect and contrasted with them the reception given the overtures elsewhere. That the Philharmonic Society cannot have been terribly disappointed, is evidenced by the fact that Beethoven on May 4, 1819, could thank the Society in a very dignified letter for his election as an Honorary Member.

FRANZ OLIVA

FRANZ OLIVA

Mödling
am 15 ten juni
1819

Euer wohlgebohrn!

Ich liege im Bette u. kann mich daher sogleich nicht weitläufig verbreiten über den gegenstand des oratoriums—Unterdessen werde ich ihnen in einigen Tagen darüber schreiben oder selbst mit ihnen sprechen. den Empfang der 400 fl. W. W. bestätige ich ihnen hiemit laut meiner eigenen schriftl. Unterschrift

Mit achtung
ihr ergebenster
Beethoven

(Address) [illegible. Oliva?]

Translation

Mödling
June 15, 1819

Your Well-born!

I lie in bed and, therefore, can not immediately discuss at length the subject of the oratorio.—However, I shall write you about it in a few days or speak with you in person. The receipt of the 400 florins Vienna Currency I herewith acknowledge to you over my own written signature

With esteem
Your most devoted
Beethoven

(Address) [illegible. Oliva?]

If the first letter in this volume contained no tangible evidence for connecting it with Dr. Bach, I believe myself on much firmer ground when seeing in Oliva the recipient of the above letter, preserved at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum of Boston. Not only does the barely legible name on the address-side resemble that name, but Franz Oliva about whom more has been said in the notes on Beethoven's letter to the banker Henickstein, in the year 1819, still functioned as the composer's *fac-totum*, especially in matters financial. Moreover, in a Conversation-Book which belongs to that year and contains entries partly written in Vienna and partly in Mödling after Beethoven had gone there in May for the summer, Oliva asks in an entry apparently of the month of April, 1819: "is the oratorio finished? I can't understand with what he

keeps himself busy—his professional activity amounts to nothing and otherwise he does nothing and yet he continually talks of his many tasks and affairs."

The *he*, referred to in so uncomplimentary a fashion by Oliva, was Josef Karl Bernard who, five years younger than Beethoven, by a queer freak of circumstances died in 1850 in the very same house where the composer breathed his last on March 26, 1827—the Schwarzspanierhaus. Bernard, since 1817, editor of the Wiener Zeitung, added to his journalistic endeavors an ambition for literature and that ambition seems to have brought him into contact with Beethoven. At any rate, he undertook to revise or improve Weissenbach's miserable text for Beethoven's cantata "Der glorreiche Augenblick," composed in 1814 in honor of the Vienna Congress with its galaxy of crowned heads, precisely the reason why Haslinger found it necessary to take refuge in an *Ersatz*-text by Rochlitz, "Preis der Tonkunst" when he published this unimportant cantata as Op. 136 in 1836.

"Bernardus non Sanctus" or "Dominus Bernardus non Sanctus" as Beethoven's banter would designate him, soon entered the inner circle of the master's friends and advisers and comparatively many are the letters addressed to him by Beethoven in the years of their intimacy. Curiously enough, however, all these letters, with one exception, occupy themselves with the tragic troubles of Beethoven as guardian of nephew Karl and only casually with a collaboration between Beethoven and Bernhard which had practically miscarried when the one exception (of 1824) was written. This collaboration concerned precisely the oratorio to which Beethoven alludes in his Mödling letter of June 15, 1819. Though that letter throws no new light on the history of that abortive collaboration, the episode will be sketched here somewhat fully because my views of Beethoven's actions in the matter noticeably diverge from those of Thayer and others.

"His Excellency, the Chairman (Count Apponyi) reported that Herr L. v. Beethoven has expressed himself through Herr v. Zmeskall as willing to *deliver* for the Society a large work and that the Executive Committee looks forward to his conditions." Thus the minutes of the meeting on December 22, 1815, of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, founded in Vienna the year before, and it has been said that the Friends of Music—to whom Beethoven jokingly would refer as The Enemies of Music—desired an oratorio from Beethoven with which to rival the success of Abbé Stadler's "Die Befreiung

Jerusalems" in 1813. However that may be, Beethoven neglected to put his verbal acceptance in writing for Zmeskall until January, 1816, "with dismay" at his discourtesy for which he could only offer as an excuse his state of mind after the death of his brother Karl two months previously. Apparently Zmeskall had been instructed to ask Beethoven what fee he would consider and also to convey to the composer suggestions about the nature of the work and its technical and artistic demands. Otherwise Beethoven in his delayed answer, when proposing a fee of 400 ducats in gold (one ducat equivalent to about $2.30), hardly would have expressed himself willing in principle to take the "artistic means for performance" under advisement, while reserving for himself the privilege to depart "from those already established." If he also wrote that "in the meantime the poem of H. von Seyfried is already begun and I shall also soon set it to music," this may refer to a tentative text for this oratorio or to some other work, commissioned by the society—a point I leave to others to determine.

There the matter seems to have rested until May 17, 1818, when Vincenz Hauschka, a member of the society and an intimate friend of Beethoven, was instructed to negotiate with him for the composition "of an oratorio of the heroic type for the exclusive use of the Society for one year from the day of the first performance, the fee to be 200, at the most 300 pieces in gold." Beethoven countered from Mödling, apparently in 1818, with a letter to Hauschka, such as only a composer in good humor, and among composers only he could or would write. In that letter he observed silence about his own remuneration, humorously trusting to the good will of "friends of music," but remarked "Herr von Bernard would be quite agreeable to me; only pay him," and on the subject of the oratorio "no subject other than a sacred one have I, but you want something heroic. Very well, only I believe that to mix in something sacred would be quite in order for such a mass" of performers. This would seem to be the first reference to Bernard as the final choice of "the enemies of music" as Beethoven's collaborator. Rumors of this reached the public press, for on December 1, 1818, the "Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst" whetted the appetite of its music-loving readers for "a work from the pen of our genius Beethoven with text by Bernard next year." The public was to be disappointed in these expectations, just as Beethoven was to be—and until the end of his life—in his expectation to visit England which he so admired for her institutions, her interest in him and, last

not least, as *Eldorado* for the remainder of his career. One of his frequent references to these British plans happen to contain an allusion to the oratorio. It occurs in his letter of March 30, 1819, to Ferdinand Ries:

> At present it is impossible to go to London, enmeshed as I am by so many circumstances; but God will assist me certainly to go to London next winter, when I shall bring along the new symphonies. I expect very soon the text for a new oratorio which I am composing for the Musikverein and which is likely to be of service in London.

The next item to round out the scanty material for the history of that oratorio is the autograph of the Mödling letter of June 15, 1819. It rounds it out for the reason that the editors of Thayer assume that the letter to Hauschka was merely an informal communication and that after further negotiations, it was followed, as the minutes of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde show, by a formal communication on June 15, 1819. Evidently they never saw the autograph of that letter which seems to have reached the Society through Oliva; otherwise they could hardly have considered it a formal document except for Beethoven's acknowledgment of receipt of an advance of 400 florins Vienna Currency (practically $64, figuring the paper florin in Vienna Currency at about 40 per cent. of the florin in "Convention" currency which was worth about 40 cents). Nor does Pohl, the historian of the Gesellschaft, appear to have had first-hand knowledge of that letter and he, by the way, adds a puzzling flavor to the record by his reference to the books of the Society that Beethoven actually did not receive the advance until August 18, 1819. If true, then Beethoven receipted for an advance payment considerably in advance of payment—not exactly a normal procedure in matters of business!

The subject chosen by Bernard for the oratorio was "Der Sieg des Kreuzes" (The Victory of the Cross), that is, the victory of Constantine the Great over Maxentius, and an indigestible confection he made of it! But this is anticipating the final result, for his progress on the libretto was woefully slow. Apparently too slow for those who commissioned the work. That one may read between the lines of an entry in the minutes of the meeting of the Gesellschaft on November 22, 1819, according to which Beethoven had answered a communication from Prince Odescalchi "that he, too, was anxious to deliver a work which would do honor to the Society and that

he would push this work to the best of his ability." In a Conversation-Book of April, 1820, Bernard then remarked: "this month I must finish the oratorio so that you may begin work on it at Mödling," but in August we *hear* from a different hand that Hauschka is still pressing for completion of the text and that "sanctus Bernardus" appeared "embarrassed," as if he desired to "conceal his poetical impotence" but that he expected to "complete his work in 5 days," etc. Again months passed and Bernard, according to the minutes of the Gesellschaft on December 17, 1820, could merely report "that he would deliver the text of the oratorio destined for Beethoven by January 15, 1821, and that he would then express himself about his remuneration."

Now, Beethoven's remark to Rochlitz in 1822, that before essaying "Faust" he would have to "rid his chest of two symphonies and an oratorio," is sufficient proof that he had no intention of abandoning his promises to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, but one cannot very well compose an oratorio, even after receiving an advance of 400 florins Vienna Currency, without a libretto. *Bernard did not deliver it unto his collaborator until October 23, 1823*, though there is no reason for doubting his word (anyhow confirmed by Beethoven) that he entrusted to the composer the first part with a sketch of the rest two years earlier. Bernard also delivered the complete text to the Gesellschaft end of October, 1823, and it voted at its meeting of January 9, 1824, to pay Bernard his fee only "when Beethoven will have declared the Oratorio suitable."

The same meeting voted that "Beethoven in this connection was energetically to be asked *peremptorily* to indicate the time required for completing the composition." In other words, the Gesellschaft had lost patience and in January, 1824, did remind energetically both Beethoven and Bernard at length and in detail of their contractual obligations. For this energetic reminder the Gesellschaft cannot very well be criticized, but the action, in retrospect, nevertheless does not give us the true color of the situation! It is just a bit unfair to Beethoven to quote that vote in biographical literature without calling attention to what preceded it. According to Pohl, L. v. Sonnleithner, a prominent member of the Gesellschaft proposed to perform the Ninth Symphony and the "Missa Solemnis" because, so he said, "Beethoven had declared that he would leave the second receipts [i. e., receipts from a second performance] to the Society, in case this would assume the expenses for copying and all other such incidentals." That the

Executive Committee viewed, at least in principle, this proposition with favor is proved by the fact that estimates of cost were prepared. The estimate ran to 1842 florins, whereupon the matter was dropped. Now, the point I wish to make in Beethoven's defense is that his proposition, Sonnleithner's report (though second-hand, as it turned out to be) and the estimates of cost *all preceded* the Society's vote for energetic reminder in the oratorio matter on January 9, 1824. In other words, Beethoven, embarrassed by his predicament with Bernard's long delayed and unsatisfactory text, proposed a means for squaring his financial account with his creditors which they seriously considered! That they, because of prohibitive cost to themselves, rejected it, certainly does not detract from the debtor's good and honest intentions!

The reminder brought forth from the composer on January 23, 1824, one of the longest letters he ever took the time or trouble to write. It was not a letter of apologies nor even of excuses but of explanations and he refused to see the matter in the light presented by the Gesellschaft. He flatly contradicted their assertion that he had *asked* for an advance-payment and averred that 400 florins had been paid him without any solicitation on his part. Could he have foreseen that the project of the oratorio would encounter such delays, he would have returned the money long ago. It became so painful for him to have to keep silent in the matter that he conceived the idea of protecting the Society at least against a loss of the interest on the amount advanced by proposing a joint concert. If Schindler and his brother Johann let the cat out of the bag, they certainly did not have his authorization to make a proposition to Sonnleithner *just in that manner* which was very far from his mind. Thanking the Society for their proffered help for the forthcoming performance of his "Ninth Symphony" and "Missa Solemnis," he assured it that he would with pleasure put at its disposal those two works after his own concert. Plainly, Beethoven was not in a mood to let reflections on his good faith in the matter go unchallenged, but his main point was the unfitness of Bernard's text for composition and the necessity for essential changes. Because of Bernard's editorial duties, he found it difficult to confer with him in person, an inevitable source of delay. Secondly, Bernard had never written anything in the nature of a libretto except that for the opera "Libussa" and from the defects of that Beethoven foresaw trouble for himself in setting the oratorio text. He then continued:

All the more reason why I had to insist on receiving the whole. True, I at last received the first part, but Bernard said that it would have to be changed and, if memory fails me not, I had to return that part to him. Then at last, at the same time that the Gesellschaft received the whole libretto, my copy reached me. Other obligations which I had not been able to fulfill on account of past illnesses, then pressed on me for the keeping of my promises, the more so, as you surely know, because unfortunately I am able to make a living only from the works I have to write. Now, sundry and much must be changed in Bernard's oratorio. I have already indicated some of these changes and shall soon be through with them, when I shall acquaint Bernard with them. As it is, though the subject is well invented and the poem has a value, it simply cannot remain. "Christus am Oelberg" was written by me and the poet in 14 days, but that poet was musical and had written several things for music and I could consult with him any moment. Do not let us discuss the value of such poetry. We all know the allowances one must make—the merit lies in the middle. As for myself, I would rather set even Homer, Klopstock, Shiller to music. At least, if one has to conquer difficulties, these immortal poets deserve it. As soon as I have finished the changes of the oratorio with Bernard, I shall have the honor to inform you and at the same time to let the Society know when it may with certainty count on it. That is in the meantime all I can say about it.

Stung by the Society's letter of reminder he apparently followed up his letter to the Society by one to Bernard himself from which I quote the following lines:

My dear, worthy friend! As for your oratorio several things in it and even its plan would have to be changed for me. To indicate all that immediately now, is impossible because of urgent tasks which I cannot retard. Furthermore, these changes would take time. If you find someone who is of a different opinion, and that is easily possible, I cannot and must not take it amiss, if you entrust to him your worthy work. Do not believe because of this remark that I do not appreciate your talent and your merits, but it has always been a principle with me not to be a cause of injury for others. As for the Society which, confident of seeing the oratorio materialize sooner, expressed itself to me as I had neither asked nor expected, I shall certainly see to it that it is in no way injured.

These long quotations from letters not in America have been inserted here because of my disagreement with those who

desire to see in Beethoven's protestations and arguments an element of insincerity and an attempt at evasion of the issue—of composing Bernard's text. Beethoven, in my opinion, had no intention of shirking his responsibilities towards the Gesellschaft, but as a composer he desired to forestall failure of his share in the oratorio by insisting on whatever improvements were possible. That the task of composing Bernard's text occupied his mind in 1822 we already know from his remark to Rochlitz and that remark may be supplemented, I think, rather significantly by further sentences from that conversation: "Much I have already hatched [the Ninth Symphony, a tenth symphony never composed and the oratorio]; that is, in my head . . . that will take a long time. You see, for some time past I do not easily get myself to write. I sit and meditate and meditate. I have had it for a long time [that is, the music in his mind]; but it will not go down on paper. It horrifies me to begin such big works. Once in it, then things move. . . ." And an oratorio was a big work! Is it any wonder that Beethoven preferred to keep the Gesellschaft waiting until the Bernard text answered his requirements, rather than fulfill promises in a hurry with indifference to the artistic result? Those who answer this question in the affirmative, simply do not comprehend the workings of an artist's mind and his higher sense of duty towards his employers and the world.

The tragi-comedy dragged on for two more years. In April, 1824, Schindler informed Beethoven that Archduke Rudolph had accepted the dedication of Bernard's text and had expressed his desire to see it composed by Beethoven. Apparently other intimates thought likewise, but Schikh, a journalistic colleague of Bernard, voiced the sentiments of the opposition party with his scathing remark: "if I were Beethoven, I should never compose this extremely dull oratorio text." As for Beethoven himself, the changes Bernard is actually known to have made in the text—his manuscript libretto has been preserved—could not possibly remedy its fundamental defects for composition sufficiently to cast a magnetic spell over the composer. According to Holz, he sighed "how can I enthuse over it" and yet as late as September 23, 1824, his letter to Hauschka shows his determination to fulfill his obligations towards the enemies of music. "That there may be no mistake about it, we report that we shall certainly set to music Bernard's oratorio, according to our signature and seal," he writes and asks Hauschka to obtain for

Bernard his fee. We know that, indeed, Hauschka was instructed to pay Bernard the balance of his fee, but it is also a matter of biography that Beethoven never composed "The Victory of the Cross."

Not even sketches for the oratorio have been discovered, but that neither proves that Beethoven carried no music for the work in his mind, nor that he abandoned the project. As a matter of fact, he did not, though naturally his last String Quartets had the right of way. Whether the ultimate miscarriage of collaboration peeved Bernard so as henceforth to cause or not a degree of frigidity in his relations with Beethoven, certain it is that in 1825 Beethoven, instead of giving up Bernard's text as hopeless, believed in it sufficiently to entrust F. A. Kanne, a stout champion of his art as editor (1821-24) of the Allgemeine Musikzeitung of Vienna, author and composer, with a revision of it which obtained the approval of Hauschka. Rumors that Beethoven had actually begun to compose this revision appear reflected, end of 1825, in a remark of Karl Holz in one of the Conversation-Books. If Holz later on stated that Beethoven "never seriously worked on 'The Victory of the Cross,'" that may be true but the statement implies that the composer *did* work to some extent on that ill-fated oratorio. The matter simply had become a futile conflict between his artistic scruples and his sense of obligation towards those whose commission he had accepted ten years previously. His experiences with Bernard's text, however, had nourished his ambition to write oratorios and, as a matter of record, Beethoven before his untimely death gave not a little thought to at least two oratorios, one on "The Elements," the other on the subject of "Saul." In that connection his deep veneration for Handel asserted itself, as we incidentally know from a remark of his recorded by Holz: "In the future I shall write after the manner of my grand-master Händel annually only an oratorio or a concerto for some string- or wind-instrument, provided I have completed my tenth Symphony (C minor) and my *Requiem*."

As for the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, the minutes of October 30, 1824, provided that "Herr v. Beethoven shall be urged to complete the oratorio for which he received an advance of 400 fl. V. C." Nor was this the last echo of the affair on the books of the Gesellschaft. On January 31, 1826, the banker von Henickstein asks "whether or no Beethoven has delivered the oratorio for which he was commissioned and partly paid." The negative answer brought forth the decision

"to remind him," Beethoven, "and to demand that he at least deliver some other composition for the payment already received."

Had Beethoven done so or had he repaid the 400 florins, Pohl probably would have recorded the fact. In my opinion, Beethoven did neither because he either hoped to "deliver" the Bernard oratorio after all, or would have given unto the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde some other oratorio more to his liking, had he not succumbed to his fatal illness barely a year later. Thus it came about that the Gesellschaft could do nothing but write up the advanced 400 florins to profit and loss, perhaps with the reflection that the whole affair had cost Beethoven more than the equivalent in loss of time, worry, annoyance and labor over Bernard's flight of fancy. At any rate, the Gesellschaft took this ten-years' miscarriage so little to heart that it voted at its meeting of November 29, 1825, to elect Beethoven an honorary member and that was definitely done on January 31, 1826.

Rather belatedly, the reader will say and this same criticism has been directed against the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde more or less outspokenly by sundry biographers of Beethoven. If they had consulted Pohl's (none too detailed) survey of the early history of that splendid organization, their view of the matter would probably have taken on a different hue. The fact is that as early as December 2, *1814* the Gesellschaft decided "to elect as honorary members: *Beethoven*, Abbé Stadler, Eybler, Weigl, Zelter" but for some unrecorded reason the vote was not put into effect. Secondly, the fact is that during its brief existence until then the Gesellschaft had elected only two honorary members: Maria Paulowna, Hereditary Princess of Saxe-Weimar and Prince Anton Radziwill. To these was added in 1818, Don Francesco de Paula, the Infante of Spain. Prince Radziwill was by avocation a composer, but his ambitious and bulky setting of "Faust" hardly was sufficiently in existence in 1814 to have induced the Gesellschaft to elect him an honorary member as a *composer*. Thus it came to pass that the first professional composer actually elected to honorary membership (not once, but twice) was no other but Beethoven! Between 1818 and November 29, 1825, no honorary members were elected and then the Gesellschaft remembered prominent composers wholesale: Beethoven, Abbé Stadler, Eybler, Weigl, Zelter (the same as in 1814) and Hummel, Spohr, Cherubini, Weber, Rossini and a few lesser lights. However, why hurry with notifying them?

Weber died before he received his diploma and the same fate might easily have befallen Beethoven since his diploma was not dated until October 26, 1826, and was not delivered to him until March 7, 1827—not quite three weeks before his death! Stranger still, when the Gesellschaft issued invitations for its commemoration of Beethoven's death with Cherubini's "Requiem" on April 26, 1827, Beethoven's honorary membership in the society was not alluded to and even the annual reports of the society observed silence on it until 1851!

In conclusion, it remains to be pointed out only that Frimmel ("Beethoven Forschung. Lose Blätter," March, 1915) does not list Beethoven's letter of June 15, 1819, among his letters written at Mödling between June, 1818 and September, 1820, a clear indication that the letter had ceased to be known abroad.

COUNT FRANZ VON OPPERSDORFF

COUNT FRANZ VON OPPERSDORFF

Count Franz von Oppersdorff, who died at Berlin in 1818, practised what Thomas Jefferson preached: at his castle near Ober-Glogau in Silesia he maintained a full symphonic orchestra of the period by having in his employ preferably only officials capable of playing on a musical instrument. His relations or relationship with the Austrian aristocracy were of the closest and so it came about that Prince Lichnowsky, whose own castle at Grätz near Troppau was only about a day's journey distant, and Beethoven visited him in the fall of 1806, on which occasion Count Oppersdorff's orchestra performed the Second Symphony. This we know from the son of one of the Count's legal officials who participated in the performance and made the composer's acquaintance. For many years a portrait of Beethoven by J. Neugass hung in the Oppersdorff castle but then drifted into possession of the Duchess of Sagan. It was to this Count Franz von Oppersdorff that Beethoven dedicated his Fourth Symphony, Op. 60. That is practically all we know of the composer's relations with the Count, except for the deductions to be drawn from two receipts and two letters of Beethoven's to him and these deductions in part a source of disagreement between the biographers. Strange to relate, of this meagre *dossier* at least one-half found its way to America: the first and last (in point of time) of the four preserved documents.

The New England Conservatory possesses this receipt:

Quittung über 500 fl.
welche ich vom Grafen Oppersdorf
empfangen habe, für eine Sinfonie, welche ich für denselben geschrieben habe—

Laut meiner
eigenen Hand-schrift
1807 am 3 ten Februar Ludwig van Beethoven

Translation

Receipt for 500 fl.
which I received from Count Oppersdorf
for a symphony which I have written for him

By my own hand and signature
1807, February third Ludwig van Beethoven

Quitting v Scotstown
Sobrang
87

This receipt was first published in September, 1880, in the "Signale" (Leipzig) from the collection of Mr. M. Bial of Breslau who offered to sell it for about $50 together with the following, undated letter, also then first published and here merely quoted in translation:

That you, my Beloved, fled from me without letting me know anything of your departure, has pained me very much. Perhaps something I did chagrined you, but surely not intentionally—To-day I have little time to write you more; hence, I shall report to you only that your symphony has been ready for a long time, but I shall now send it by the next post—50 fl. you may withhold, because the copying which I ordered done will cost 50 fl. at the cheapest—in case you, however, do not want the symphony, let me know it before the next post—but in case you take it, rejoice me as soon as possible with the 300 fl. still due me.—The last piece in the symphony is with 3 trombones and *flautino* [piccolo]—though not with 3 kettledrums, but will make more noise than 6 kettledrums and better noise at that—I am still doctoring my poor, innocent finger, and because of it have not been able for a fortnight to go out—farewell—let me, dearest Count hear something from you soon—it goes ill with me—

in haste your most devoted Beethoven.

The words "my beloved" at the beginning of this letter, addressed to "Monsieur le comte d'Oppersdorf à Troppau," probably represent a faulty reading by the transcriber in the "Signale." However, that may be, the allusion to an injured finger fixes the date of the letter, for we know that Breuning informed Ries in March, 1808, that "Beethoven almost lost a finger because of a *Panaritium* (whitlow), but now he is fairly well again,"—after an nail-operation about which Beethoven himself, suffering from colic besides, wrote to Collin at that time. Next in the Oppersdorff *dossier* comes this (translated) receipt:

That I received on March 29, 1808 one-hundred and fifty *fl:* in *Bank* notes from Count Oppersdorf, I certify by my signature

Ludwig van Beethoven

Vienna, March 29, 1808

(Added by a different hand, perhaps that of Count Oppersdorff himself)

200 florins received additional in June 1807 in cash. given account of 5. *Sinphoni* not yet delivered, however. [the numeral 5 not absolutely clear, according to Riemann, but recognizable as such] Nov. 25, 1808.

The last of the four documents, none of which in Shedlock-Hull, is the letter owned by the late Miss Amy Lowell. The date "1 November 1088" is a characteristically Beethovenian error; the year, of course, is 1808.

Wien den 1: ten November 1088 [!]

Bester Graf!

Sie werden mich in einem falschen Lichte betrachten, aber Noth zwang mich die sinfonie, die für sie geschrieben, und noch eine andere dazu an jemanden anderen zu veräussern—sejn sie aber Versichert, dass sie diejenige, welche für sie bestimt ist, bald erhalten werden—Ich hoffe, sie werden imer wohl gewesen sejn, wie auch ihre Frau Gemahlin, der ich bitte, mich bestens zu emphehlen—ich wohne grade unter dem Fürsten Lichnowsky, im Falle sie einmal mir in Wien die Ehre ihres Besuches geben wollen, bej der Gräfin Erdödy—Meine Umstände bessern sich—ohne Leute dazu nöthig zu haben, welche ihre Freunde mit Flegeln traktiren wollen—auch bin ich als Kapellmeister zum König von Westphalen berufen, und es könnte wohl sejn, dass ich diesem Rufe folge. leben sie wohl und denken sie zuweilen an ihren ergebensten Freund

Beethoven

(Address) An Graf Oppersdorf

Translation

Vienna, November 1, 1088 [!]

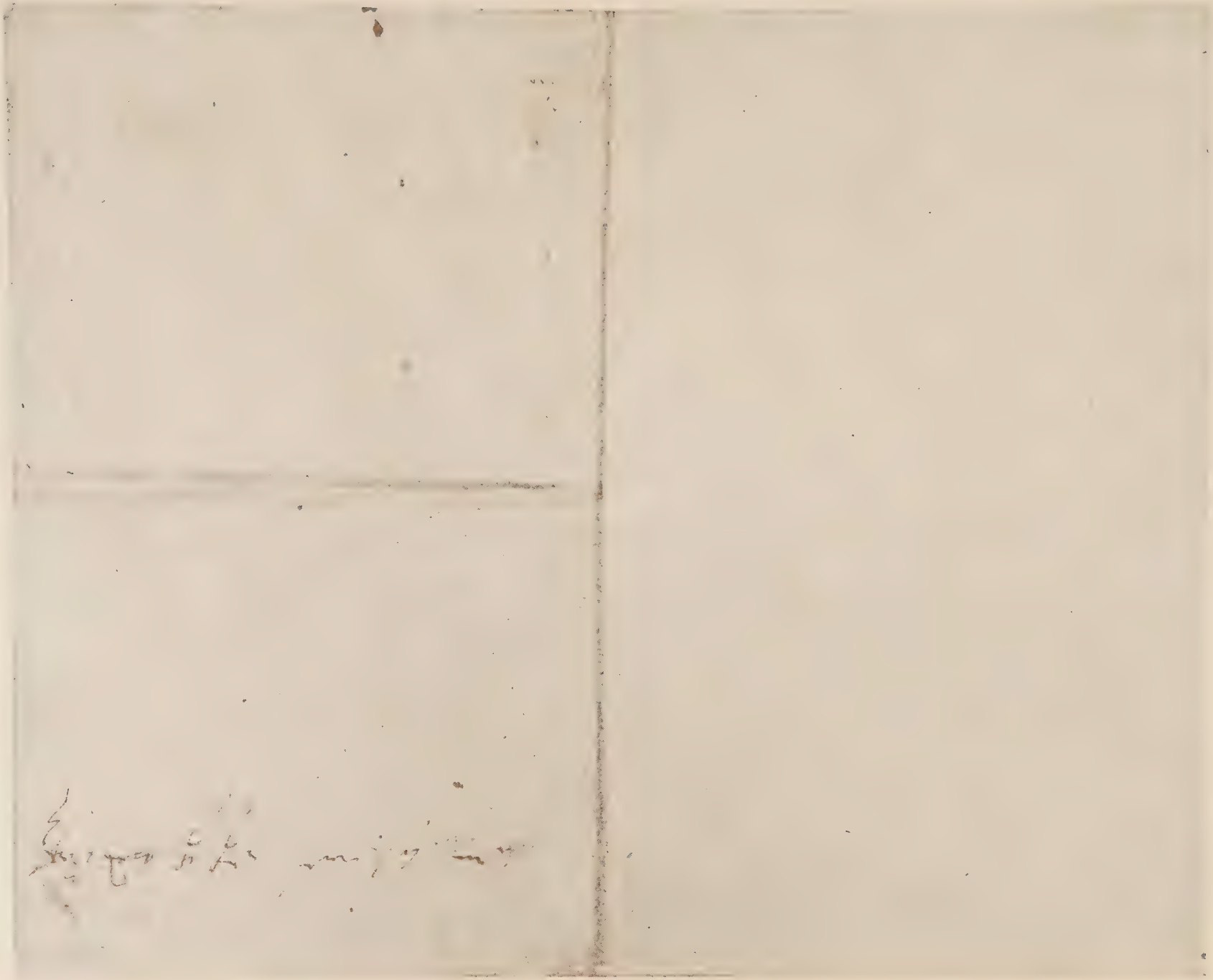
Best Count!

You will regard me in a false light, but necessity compelled me to sell the symphony which was written for you and also another to someone else—but be assured that you will soon receive the one intended for you.—I hope that you were always well, as also your "Frau gemahlin," to whom I request you to pay my compliments.—I live right under Prince Lichnowsky, in case you ever wish to give me the honor of a visit, at Countess Erdödy's. My circumstances are improving—without needing persons who want to treat their friends with "Flegeln" [which may mean either "with boors" or "with cudgels"]—Also, I have been called to be Chapelmaster of the King of Westphalia, and it is easily possible that I shall accept the call—farewell and think occasionally of your most devoted friend

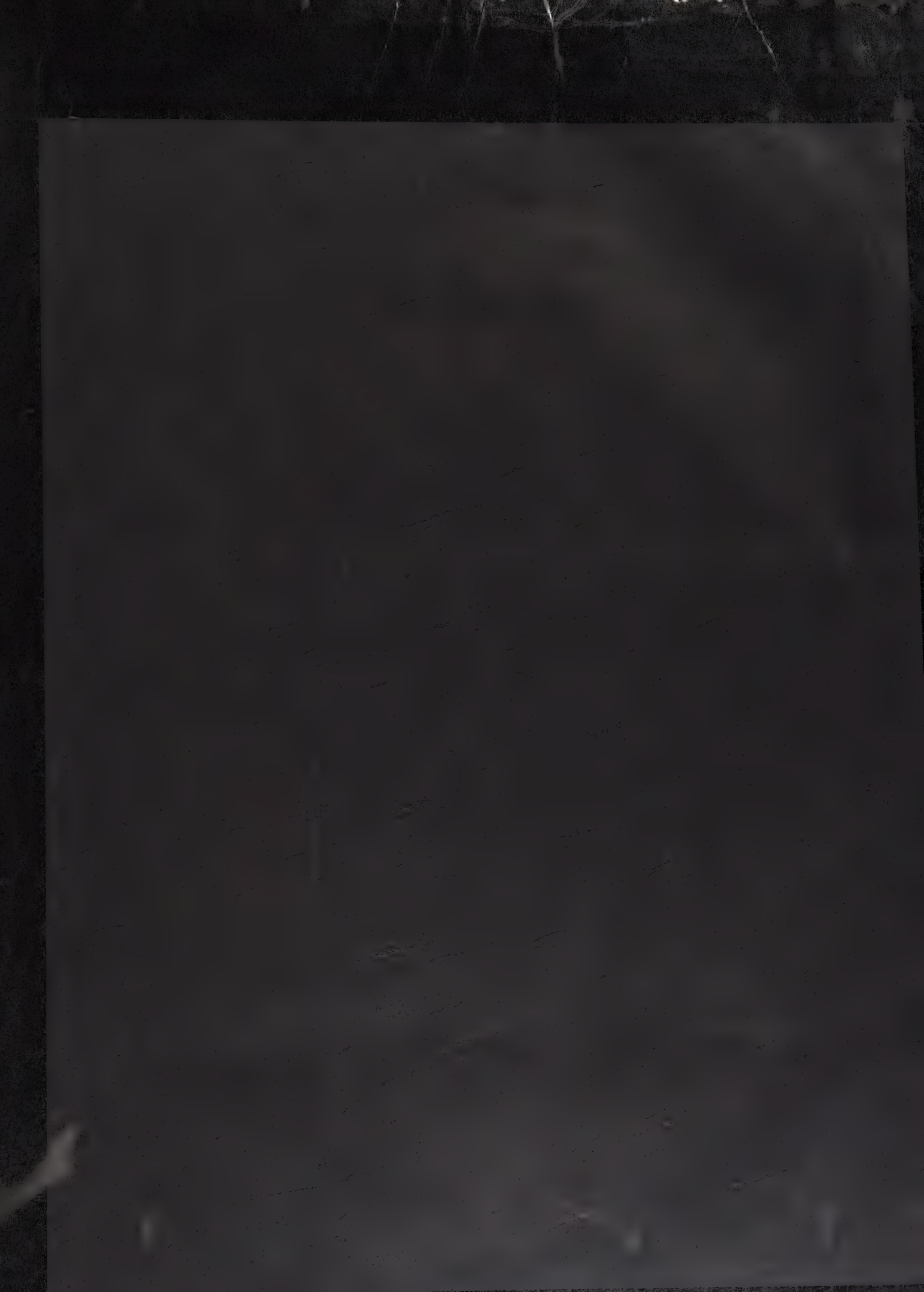
Beethoven

(Address) To Count Oppersdorf

Thayer, in quoting most of this letter, added: "Such an apology for not having dedicated the promised Symphony to



Wien, den 1ten November
1888



Oppersdorff, and the promise soon to supply its place with another, are ample testimony that the relations between the composer and that nobleman were of a character well worth the trouble of investigation by any one who has the opportunity to make it. Whatever information can be obtained upon this matter, will be new." Quite so, but to base the investigation on the four available documents cited, as if they were the whole of the correspondence that might have passed between Beethoven and Count Oppersdorff, that is the somewhat acrobatic feat of both the German and American editor of Thayer. They had to make the best of a bad bargain and Mr. Krehbiel, when referring to the other three documents not known to Thayer as new evidence said "it must be confessed, it seems more bewildering than illuminative"; whereas Riemann wrote that "the three documents are really difficult to harmonize." Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that both these distinguished and keen editors locked horns and, to make matters worse, I find myself in disagreement with both of them.

For that reason, it will perhaps be best, that the subject-matter of the letter of November 1, 1808 insofar as it does not affect the controversy, be briefly discussed first and that the discussion then be followed by both Riemann's and Krehbiel's controversial argument, before venturing on a supplementary guess of my own.

The last lines of the letter of November 1, 1808, form the earliest allusion known to King Jerome's offer that Beethoven become his Kapellmeister. More about this call, transmitted, as we know from Beethoven himself, by the Royal Parvenu's Chamberlain in Chief, Count Truchsee-Waldburg, has been said in connection with Baron von Gleichenstein and, therefore, it is only necessary to repeat that evidently the call was received on or before November 1, 1808, probably during the month of October.

The words "without needing persons who want to treat their friends with *Flegeln*" by common consent relate to an episode which occurred in the fall of 1806 at Grätz, the castle of Prince Lichnowsky. During the invasion by the French army, several French officers, quartered in Prince Lichnowsky's castle, persistently urged Beethoven to play for them. He happened not to be in the mood either to play at all or for invaders of his country and Prince Lichnowsky, forgetting his friend's notorious stubborness in such things, made matters worse by joining the entreaties of his military guests.

A threat of arrest, made in earnest or in jest, caused Beethoven to leave the castle abruptly by night and to walk through the dark to Troppau whence he took the extra post to Vienna. There a bust of the Prince fell a victim to the wrath of Beethoven. Temporarily the friendship of the two men received a shock, but gradually Princess Christine, the lovable mother of the Prince who knew how to tame Beethoven, drew them together again, it seems. If Prince Lichnowsky and the French Officers perhaps behaved boorishly on that occasion, not less so then and later Ludwig van Beethoven, if in his anger he really wrote to the Prince the lines with which narrators of the episode generally finish the story: "Prince, what you are, you are by accident and birth; what I am, I am through myself. There have been and will still be thousands of princes; there is only one Beethoven." Authentic or not, the expression, in the opinion of both editors of Thayer, may well have come from Beethoven in a fit of anger. I am inclined to doubt the authenticity of the aperçu in that polished form, at any rate: the sentiment is truly Beethovenian, but the rudeness is not Beethovenian enough!

The first part of the letter of November 1, 1808, is commonly supposed to allude to the "necessity" of repaying to Brother Johann van Beethoven a loan of 1500 fl., just then badly needed by him to perfect the purchase of an apothecary shop in Linz which he finally acquired by contract on March 13, 1808. The reference to the two symphonies then leads us into the midst of the controversy about Oppersdorff *versus* Beethoven of which the basic facts are these: while sketches for the Fifth Symphony go back to at least 1805, the composer's sketch-books yielded Nottebohm nothing for determining the origin of the Fourth. The Fifth had begun to assume shape when Beethoven interrupted work on it in favor of "the placid and serene Fourth Symphony—the most perfect in form of them all," in the opinion of Alexander Wheelock Thayer, an opinion shared by many who regret the neglect of this beautiful work where the spirit of Mozart seems to meet that of Beethoven.

The Fourth apparently saw its inception and practically its completion at Grätz in the late summer and the early fall of 1806, before the irate composer turned into a nocturnal pedestrian rather than stay any longer under the same roof with his host, Prince Lichnowsky and his French visitors. The first mention of the symphony occurs in a letter to Breitkopf & Härtel which Beethoven carelessly dated "Grätz am 3 ten

Heu-Monath 1806" (the third of the Hay-month, 1806). This date need mislead no reader of Beethoven letters because not only does internal evidence speak against it, but Breitkopf & Härtel noted on the letter September 13th as date of receipt and September 3rd as the date of the letter itself. Beethoven simply wrote Heu-Monath, instead of Herbst-Monath. In that letter he offered the Leipzig firm together with other works "eine neue *Sinfonie*," without stating key or number. In a letter of November 18, 1806, he then continued the negotiations but wrote "the promised *Sinfonie* I cannot as yet give you, because a gentleman of quality has taken it, but I am at liberty to publish it in half a year. . . . Perhaps it is possible that I may perhaps be permitted to have the symphony engraved sooner than I could hope until now, and then you shall have it soon."

The negotiations with Breitkopf & Härtel led to naught and the works in question were acquired by the Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir of Vienna, the "new symphony," it seems, sometime in 1807, after its first performance in March, 1807, at a concert of works of Beethoven given by Prince Lobkowitz. The plausible supposition of Thayer was that the sale to the Viennese firm took place at the time when Beethoven had to find funds wherewith to pay back to his brother Johann the loan of 1500 fl. The "new symphony" was precisely the Fourth, Op. 60, sold for Great Britain on April 22, 1807, to Clementi, but publication at Vienna did not take place until March, 1809, when the work "Dediée à Monsieur le Comte Oppersdorf" was issued in orchestral parts only, the score not following until 1821 with the imprint of Simrock. That the symphony was composed in 1806, the autograph score bears witness with the simple inscription "Sinfonia 4ta 1806 L. v. Bthvn."

As for the Fifth Symphony, it suffices for the present purpose to remark that first sketched at least as early as 1805, well under way by summer of 1806, laid aside in favor of the Fourth, finished in 1808, first offered for sale together with the Sixth to Breitkopf & Härtel on June 8, 1808, it was sold to them on September 14, 1808, was first performed at a concert of Beethoven's works on December 22, 1808, and published in April, 1809. A month later Breitkopf & Härtel issued also the Sixth Symphony, better known as the Pastoral Symphony and first performed on the same evening as the Fifth. *Both* these symphonies bear the same twin-dedication, so delightfully reminiscent of the period: *dediée à son Altesse Sérénis-*

sime Monseigneur le Prince régnant de Lobkowitz, Duc de Raudnitz et à son Excellence Monsieur le Comte de Rasumoffsky.

And now to Riemann's argument! In the first place he claims that *evidently* the receipt of February 3, 1807, belongs with the undated letter of March, 1808, about "my poor, innocent finger," etc., and he argues that the mention of the whitlow puts the correctness of the date February 3, 1807 for the receipt of the 500 florins in doubt. Because the symphony with the three trombones mentioned in that letter can be no other than the Fifth in C minor, he finds "1808 instead of 1807 inevitable" for the receipt, too. In support of this theory he then adduces the second receipt of March 29, 1808, and continues in these words:

The three documents are really harmonized only with difficulty. For what did Beethoven receive the 500 fl. of the first receipt, if not for the fifth symphony? If one dates the first letter and the receipt both February 3, 1808, it is possible to see in the 200 fl. paid in June, 1807, the florins mentioned in the letter as already paid. But for what the new 150 fl., if 500 fl. had already been paid? Unless one wants to doubt absolutely the genuineness of the receipt of the 500 fl., one will have to conjecture that Beethoven, in order to receive the money, inclosed the receipt with the letter, and that Oppersdorff did not pay the requested 300 fl., because he preferred to wait for delivery of the symphony and, perhaps at the renewed urgent request of Beethoven, to pay a further 150 fl., at the end of March, 1808. How wisely he acted, proves the last letter touching on this matter as also the receipt of Nov. 25, 1808, communicated by Seminary-Director Schäfer in Ober-Glogau.

Riemann then quotes that letter of November 1, 1808, in full and sums up his case, as follows:

This last letter proves conclusively that Count Oppersdorff can have received neither the C minor Symphony [the Fifth] nor the B flat major Symphony [the Fourth] for exclusive use during the customary half year; because the B flat major symphony was performed by [Prince] Lobkowitz as early as March, 1807, was sold on April 22, 1807, to Clementi, also to the Industrie-Kontor in the summer, was delivered to it for engraving at the latest in the fall, when the 1500 fl. had to be repaid to Johann. The C minor Symphony was first performed at the Academy [concert] in the Theater a. d. Wien on December 22, 1808, was offered to Breitkopf & Härtel as early as June, 1808, was sold on September 14, 1808, and was published in April, 1809. Count Oppersdorff, therefore,

seems to have been obliged to consider the 350 fl. paid by him as the equivalent of the mere *dedication* of the B flat major Symphony which was published in March, 1808 [*recte* 1809] by the Industrie-Kontor, the orchestral score as late as 1821 by Simrock.

Che guazzabuglio, Italian readers might be tempted to exclaim, but Mr. Krehbiel shall have the floor. He agrees that, of course, the remarks about the three trombones in the letter of March, 1808, point indisputably to the Fifth Symphony, but he very properly questions Riemann's surmise that *evidently* the receipt dated February 3, 1807, accompanied the letter of March, 1808. He continues:

Why Dr. Riemann should have thought it necessary to consider the first letter [of March, 1808] of contemporaneous date with the first receipt is not plain, nor why he should surmise that Beethoven had enclosed the receipt in the letter before he received the money which was not paid at the time. To this Editor it seems as if the confused tangle might be explained in part, at least, as follows, though the explanation leaves Beethoven under a suspicion which cannot be dispelled until more is learned of the dealings between him and Count Oppersdorff: On the occasion of Beethoven's visit to Count Oppersdorff in company with Lichnowsky in the summer or fall of 1806, the Count commissioned the composer to write a symphony for him; Beethoven had begun work on the Fifth Symphony, but laid it aside and during the remainder of his stay at Grätz and in the winter of 1807 [*recte* 1806] wrote the Symphony in B-flat which is dedicated to Count Oppersdorff; for this he received 500 florins on February 3, 1807; he did not send the Count the score, as was the custom, for exclusive use during a fixed period, but turned it over to Lobkowitz for performance, being in urgent need of money; a year later he substituted the Fifth for the Fourth and accepted from Count Oppersdorff 150 florins in March and 200 in June for it, without delivering it, this sum being, it may be presumed, a bonus for the larger work, the Count apparently having asked for something employing an unusual apparatus (hence the "3 kettledrums"); this symphony was also withheld in the end, for reasons which are not known, and Oppersdorff had to content himself with the mere dedication of the Symphony in B-flat originally designed for him.

If the words "the mere dedication of the Symphony in B-flat" imply even the slightest disrespect for the Fourth Symphony in comparison with the Fifth, then those of us who rank these two works equally high—each in its own way, to use Beethoven's own words about his last String-quartets—

must protest. If, on the other hand, the sentence euphemistically charges Beethoven with having cheated Count Oppersdorff, then there is ample room for participation in the debate with a divergent interpretation of the available evidence.

Riemann got himself hopelessly tangled by his guess and unwarranted contention that the receipt of February 3, 1807, is either not genuine or wrongly dated 1807 instead of 1808. No, Beethoven acknowledged on February 3, 1807, the receipt of 500 florins from Count Oppersdorff for a symphony written for him. That is a basic fact; we have no right not to treat it as such and no argument tampering, without supporting data, with that fact need be taken seriously. No symphony other than the Fourth can possibly be involved, because only that symphony belongs to the fall of 1806; the Fifth was not completed until sometime in 1808. The dedication of the Fourth to Count Oppersdorff was not merely a compliment; it was part of the whole transaction. Beethoven composed that symphony for the Count on commission, was paid for it, acknowledged payment, and very properly dedicated it to him at the time of publication. (In passing, the absence of dedicatory words from the autograph score means nothing. The autograph scores of the Fifth and Sixth are also preserved and they, too, contain no reference to the blue-blooded gentlemen to whom they were dedicated.)

At this point I part company with Mr. Krehbiel, too, for if he concedes that Beethoven received on February 3, 1807, the 500 fl. from Count Oppersdorff for the Fourth Symphony, but then argues that Beethoven did not deliver it to him, and that "a year later" he *substituted* the Fifth and accepted from Count Oppersdorff 150 florins in March, 1808, and "200 in June for it," his logic demonstrably slipped. In the first place he reversed the order of the documented financial transaction: the 200 florins were paid in June, *1807*, and instead of being additional they were a payment prior to the payment of March 29, 1808, of 150 florins. Secondly, where is Mr. Krehbiel's proof that Beethoven nonchalantly "substituted" the Fifth for the Fourth and that he did not deliver the Fourth? There is none and in the absence of proof to the contrary, the only fair procedure—fair to Beethoven—is to assume that he did deliver a copy of the Fourth symphony to its purchaser, Count Oppersdorff. Not only that, but, on the record of the facts, Beethoven kept faith with him regarding the customary exclusive use for a fixed period, usually half a year: he *offered* on September 3, 1806, the "new" Fourth symphony to Breit-

kopf & Härtel and again on November 18, but expressly stated that "I cannot as yet give you [the symphony] because a gentleman of quality has taken it, but I am at liberty to publish it in half a year. . . . Perhaps it is possible that I may perhaps be permitted to have the symphony engraved sooner." Beethoven acted quite within his rights, if he *offered* and even *sold* the symphony, provided publication was deferred for half a year. He actually did not sell the symphony until April 22, 1807, to Clementi and it was not published until March, 1809! Furthermore, Mr. Krehbiel is wrong in seeing a violation of the Oppersdorff agreement in the fact that Beethoven "turned it over to Lobkowitz for performance, being in urgent need of money." How did he know that Beethoven, and not Prince Lobkowitz's friend Count Oppersdorff himself perhaps, "turned it over" for the Lobkowitz concert in March, 1807? And, where is the proof that the Oppersdorff agreement of September (or, at the latest) October, 1808, contained a stipulation against a performance at Vienna of the symphony "for a fixed period?" There is none.

My contention is that the transaction involving payment of 500 florins to Beethoven for the composition and delivery of the Fourth Symphony must be strictly separated from any other transaction disclosed by the meagre Beethoven-Oppersdorff *dossier*. If that be done (and the documents themselves compel us to do so), then the fact stands forth that Beethoven wrote not only the Fourth but also completed the Fifth Symphony for Count Oppersdorff! Beethoven's words about "your symphony" in his letter of March, 1808, to Count Oppersdorff could refer to no symphony other than the Fifth, even if the composer had not obliged us epistolary detectives with his tell-tale remarks about the "3 trombones and flautino" and that the Count regarded as late as November 25, 1808, the Fifth symphony as his, the laconic statement on that date "200 florins received additional in June 1807 in cash, given account of 5. *Sinphoni*, not yet delivered, however," added to Beethoven's own statement of receipt of 150 florins on March 29, 1808, proves conclusively.

On November 25, 1808, therefore, the second transaction disclosed by the *dossier*—the first with reference to the Fourth symphony being fully closed and entirely separate—stood, as follows: Beethoven had agreed to write (rather, to complete) the Fifth Symphony for Count Oppersdorff. In March, 1808, he reported to him that "your symphony has been ready for a long time, but I shall now send it by the next post—50 fl. you

may withhold, because the copying which I ordered done, will cost 50 fl. at the cheapest—in case you, however, do not want the symphony, let me know it before the next post—but in case you take it, rejoice me as soon as possible with the 300 fl. still due me." Probably Beethoven's "ready for a long time" was an exaggeration, but, unless he woefully lied, the Fifth Symphony was ready for delivery, though not perhaps in its final form, in March, 1808. That he did not deliver it, appears from that laconic statement of November 25, 1808. Incidentally it permits us to infer that the stipulated price, obviously paid on the instalment plan, was again, as for the Fourth, 500 florins: 200 had been paid in June, 1807, and 300 were still due, including the 50 florins for copying which Beethoven consented to have deducted. Of these 300 florins, 150 were paid on March 29, 1808, and that implies that Count Oppersdorff still desired "his" symphony, the Fifth. Thus, when Beethoven, wrote to the Count on November 1, 1808, he had actually been paid for the undelivered Fifth Symphony 350 florins and either 150 or 100 florins were still due him, according to whether Count Oppersdorff cared to take advantage of the suggested deduction of 50 florins or not.

Up to this point, in my opinion, even the second Beethoven-Oppersdorff transaction, involving the Fifth Symphony, is perfectly clear. Beyond that point the absence of further letters from Beethoven to Oppersdorff and the total absence of letters from Oppersdorff to Beethoven leaves us utterly in the dark.

Also without warrant for attributing to the composer a worse conduct than he attributed to himself when, with an uneasy conscience, he informed Count Oppersdorff that "necessity compelled me to sell the symphony which was written for you and also another to someone else—but be assured that you will soon receive the one intended for you." The "someone else" was the publisher Breitkopf & Härtel to whom he had offered on June 8, 1808, the two symphonies—the Fifth and the Sixth (the Pastoral), a Mass and a 'Cello Sonata for 900 florins and "for several reasons . . . on condition that they [the symphonies] must not be published in less than six months, figuring from June first" and to whom he sold the two middle of September. He repeated the offer on July 16th with a reduction of 200 florins in his price for the works mentioned "and two other sonatas for the piano or instead of these perhaps a further symphony"—a publisher's bargain, if there ever was one. Breitkopf & Härtel showed no interest in the

mass, whereupon Beethoven (probably end of the same month), modified his offer to two symphonies, a Violoncello Sonata and "two Trios for Pianoforte, Violin and Violoncello (because there is a dearth of such) or instead of these two Trios a symphony for 600 florins." That Breitkopf & Härtel took no interest in this alternative of a symphony we know from Beethoven's signed statement of receipt on September 14, 1808, of the fee for the other works actually sold by him.

The important item for the present purpose in this recital of facts is that evidently Beethoven as early as the summer of 1808, was planning a seventh symphony; whether or not the Seventh is immaterial for the moment. Surely every probability points to the surmise that it was precisely this symphony which he had in mind to compose for Count Oppersdorff as a substitute for his Fifth, sold to Breitkopf & Härtel, as it were, behind the Count's back, and without first having delivered to him for temporary exclusive use a private copy of the work. Thus, Count Oppersdorff came fairly near having three of the nine Beethoven symphonies composed for him! And in view of Beethoven's evident plan of a seventh symphony in the summer of 1808, it is interesting to remember that while the Seventh Symphony was completed on May 13, 1812—it was not dedicated to Count Oppersdorff, but to Count Moritz von Fries—the so-called "Pettersches Skizzenbuch" contains extensive sketches for a "symphony without drums" belonging to the Seventh and that Nottebohm attributes them to end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812, but that Mr. Thayer, who also had studied the sketch-book, favored the winter of 1808-09 for reasons not shared by Nottebohm. In view of Beethoven's clear allusions during the summer and fall of 1808 to a seventh symphony, is it not possible that, after all, Mr. Thayer was right about the inception of the Seventh and Nottebohm wrong?

Did Count Oppersdorff take Beethoven's conduct amiss? Did he pay the balance of 150 or 100 florins? Was the matter settled to their mutual satisfaction? Did Beethoven remain the Count's debtor? Did he refund the fee for the Fifth Symphony paid in advance? Did the Count write up the 400 or 350 florins spent on *his* Fifth Symphony to profit and loss? How did it come about that the Fifth Symphony was not dedicated to him, but to Prince Lobkowitz and Count Rasumowsky? Did they "acquire" the musical *jus primæ noctis* from their friend, Count Oppersdorff and did they perhaps square Beethoven's account with him? In brief, what was

the personal history of the Fifth after Beethoven's letter of November 1, 1808? These questions, and more, will remain unanswerable until an accretion to the Beethoven-Oppersdorff *dossier* occurs or, until other documents, shedding light on the subject, are discovered.

Count Oppersdorff had, indeed, "to content himself with the mere dedication of the Symphony in B-flat"; only in quite a different sense from that employed by Riemann and Krehbiel. He had no cause in any way for disappointment in that symphony; his only grievance, if such he felt, against Beethoven derived from the vicissitudes of the Fifth Symphony, originally *his* symphony as was the Fourth. That this third interpretation of the available evidence in the case of Oppersdorff *versus* Beethoven involved incidentally a slight but noticeable deviation from the accepted story of the Fifth Symphony, no careful student of Thayer will have failed to notice.

THE PRUSSIAN LEGATION IN VIENNA

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On November 25, 1825, Beethoven wrote to Schott in Mainz, the final choice of Beethoven as publisher of the "Missa Solemnis," as follows:

> Your Well-born! The tempo-indications after Mälzels metronome will follow very soon; I send you here the title of the Mass.
>
> *Missa*
> *composita et*
> *Serenissimo ac Eminentissimo Domino Domino*
> *Rudolpho Joanni Cæsareo Principi et Archiduci Austriæ, S. R. E.*
> *Tit. S. Petri in monte aureo Cardinali et Archiepiscopo Olumucensi*
> *profundissima cum veneratione [de] dicata*
> *a*
> *Ludovico van Beethoven*

The list of advance-subscribers is to be engraved before the dedication.

1. The Emperor of Russia
2. The King of Prussia
3. The King of France
4. The King of Denmark
5. The Prince-Elector of Saxony
6. The Grand Duke of [Hesse-] Darmstadt
7. The Grand Duke of Tuscany
8. Prince Galitzin
9. Prince Radziwill
10. The Cæcilia Society of Frankfort

Beethoven added that final instructions about the dedication would follow and asked that for special reasons the publication be delayed about three months.

The above title was adhered to for the first edition of the score, published by Schott not three months later, but after the composer's death in April, 1827. Furthermore, the title was practically a replica, except for the omission of the word *solennis* or *solemnis*—the authorities disagree—after *Missa*, of the title of a special manuscript copy which Beethoven delivered in person to Archduke Rudolph on March 19, 1823, and which His Imperial Highness bequeathed as part of his magnificent collection of Beethoven scores to the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. Yet even in March, 1823, the last touches had not been put to the "Missa Solemnis"—or Missa

Solennis, as one prefers; both are correct—by the composer who, as he said about that time, held to the practice and principle of other great composers of cutting, enlarging, changing their works while there was still room and time for improvements. Unless I am mistaken, he made a few minor changes even after his "Akademie" on May 7, 1824, at which the *Kyrie, Credo* and *Agnus Dei*, that is, only three sections of the seven of the whole work, had been performed by gracious permission of His Omnipotence, the censor, at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre as "Three Grand Hymns."

At any rate Beethoven may be said to have completed work on the "Mass" for all practical purposes by summer of 1823—five years after "one of the greatest artists and noblest of men" as the German editors fittingly and justly call him at the end of their version of Thayer, confided to his pen the first ideas for what he considered "the most successful product of his mind." He conceived the plan for composing the Mass, when in 1818, knowledge reached him that his pupil, friend, protector and benefactor Archduke Rudolph would be appointed Archbishop of Olmütz. His sincere intention was to have his tribute of respect and affection ready for the installation of the Archduke, but circumstances of various kinds frustrated this plan. Then it came about that Rudolph was elected Cardinal in April, 1819, made Archbishop of Olmütz in June of that year, installed as such in March, 1820, but that Beethoven by that time had barely sketched the *Kyrie* and the *Gloria*. How disappointed Beethoven was because of this miscarriage of his plan, we know from his correspondence and how sincerely he had hoped to provide a mass for the installation ceremonies, Thayer emphasizes by quoting this sentence in a letter of the year 1819, to the Archduke:

> The day on which a high mass of my composition is performed at the ceremony for Y. I. H. will be to me the most beautiful in my life and God will enlighten me so that my poor powers may contribute to the glory of this solemn day.

These words ring true, but also do those which precede that sentence in Beethoven's letter, though omitted in Thayer. I take the liberty of "adding" them here for obvious reasons:

> God knows my inmost heart, and however appearances may perhaps be against me, some day everything will be clarified in my favor.

Of all works that might inspire a composer, a Solemn Mass is the one which we should like to see conceived and

given to the world without stain of any kind from contact with things impure or sordid, but, though Beethoven conceived and composed his "Missa Solemnis" in purity, the impurities of daily life could not but intrude themselves, once he sought to dispose of the work as a composer who lived mainly from the fruits of his labor. Or, as Beethoven himself in his usual bad French wrote to Cherubini on March 15, 1823: "*Ma situation critique demande, que je ne fixe pas seulement comme ordinaire mes voeux au ciel, au contraire, il faut les fixer aussi en bas pour les nécessités de la vie.*" Thus, he began, early in 1820, while the composition of the Mass progressed more or less slowly until completely sketched in the latter part of 1823, to think of its worldly prospects. Probably in January, since apparently his letter of February 10, 1820, to the publisher Peter Simrock in Bonn in which he offered him the Mass for a fee of 125 Louisd'or had been preceded by an earlier attempt to interest Simrock. Therewith a series of operations began which reveal Beethoven in the sad and unpleasant rôle of a somewhat unreliable peddler in master-works. Indeed, whenever the theory that Beethoven in times of financial distress conducted himself reprehensibly in matters of business is to be proven, it is the fashion to dwell on the history of the "Missa Solemnis." In that case appearances are so against him, that those who like that sort of biographical treatment for the satisfaction of their appetites for historical truth, find it easy to use the "Missa Solemnis" as star-case against Beethoven with him as star-witness against himself. Not even Mr. Krehbiel seems to have suspected that the thing might be overdone and that he was courting the danger of looking at the spectacle through a magnifying glass or one which unduly distorts the true proportions and aspects of Beethoven's offense.

Briefly, the ugly charge, running anywhere from regretful censure to virulent remarks about "flagrant dishonesty" is that he obligated himself to sell the "Missa Solemnis" to Peter Simrock, but broke his promise and broke it also to the publishers Peters, Schlesinger, Artaria, Probst, Diabelli with whom he negotiated and (supposedly) contracted for the very same Mass, playing off one against the other, and hoodwinking them all, until finally in 1824, he definitely sold the work to Schott of Mainz, Here is neither the occasion nor the place to cross-examine these charges, but in the chapter on Diabelli I have already stated that I am not at all certain that the last word has been said in the matter. In fact, I am certain that it has not been and that a more penetrating and more impartial study

of the available evidence will so weaken the charges as largely to discredit them. The more I study Beethoven's letters and other documents relating to the history of his "Missa Solemnis," the more convinced I have become of this rather unfashionable view of the matter. In the supposed interest of Truth, a grave injustice has been done and is being done to the memory of Beethoven by the parrots of Thayer. Not that the indictment can be turned into an absolute acquittal nor that Beethoven can be wholly exonerated, but his record can be cleansed enough to demand the verdict at least of "not proven" and thus to induce decent, but misled or misinformed writers to refrain from further such distortions of Beethoven's actions, motives and character.

While those publishing plots and counter-plots were going on, suddenly an entirely different scheme went into effect. Dr. Roderick Terry possesses this reminder of it:

Der Unterzeichnete hegt den Wunsch, sein neuestes Werk, das er für das gelungenste seiner Geistesprodukte hält, dem Allerhöchsten Hofe von Berlin, einzusenden.

Dasselbe ist eine grosse solenne Messe für 4 Solo-Stimmen, mit Chören und vollständigen Orchester, in Partitur, welche auch als grosses Oratorium benützt werden kann.

Er bittet daher, die hohe Gesandschaft Sr. Majestät des Königs von Preussen möge geruhen, ihm die hierzu nöthige Erlaubniss Ihres Allerhöchsten Hofes gnädigst zu bewirken.

Da die Abschrift der Partitur jedoch beträchtliche Kosten erfordert, so glaubt der Gefertigte es nicht zu hoch anzusetzen, wenn ein Honorar von 50 Dukaten in Gold dafür festgesetzt werde.

Das erwähnte Werk wird übrigens vor der Hand nicht öffentlich im Stich ausgegeben werden.

Ludwig Van Beethoven

Wien den 23 Jänner. 1823.

(Address) An die hohe Königlich preussische Gesandschaft in Wien

Translation

The undersigned cherishes the wish to send his newest work which he regards as the most successful product of his mind, to the Most-high Court of Berlin.

It is a grand solemn mass for 4 solo voices with choruses and complete orchestra, in score, which can also be used as a grand Oratorio.

He, therefore, begs the High Legation of His Majesty, the King of Prussia, to be pleased to procure for him the necessary permission of Your Most-high Court.

Inasmuch, however, as the copying of the score entails a considerable expense, the undersigned does not believe it to be excessive, if he fixes for it a fee of 50 ducats in gold.

The work in question, moreover, will not be engraved and published at present.

Ludwig Van Beethoven

Vienna, January 23, 1823
(Address) To the High Royal Prussian Legation

To whom the credit or discredit for the authorship of this scheme of selling special manuscript copies of the "Missa Solemnis" for 50 ducats in gold in advance of deferred publication belongs, is not known. It was a scheme such as would emanate from the brain of the delectable Johann van Beethoven, a born speculator, rather than from his brother, the composer. At any rate, on January 7, 1823, Beethoven sent his brother Johann on a scouting expedition to Georg A. von Griesinger of the Saxon Legation, an admirer of his music, with a letter in which these sentences occur:

Intending not to issue my grand Mass, written some time ago, in an engraved edition, but in a manner more full of honor for me, I believe, and perhaps also more remunerative. I request your advice and, if possible, your support. My plan is to offer it to all large courts; very inexperienced in everything except in my art, I should be infinitely obliged to you, if you would express yourself about the plan to my brother, the bearer of this. I should have come myself, but I am again somewhat indisposed.

Again he lifted the curtain a little when he wrote to his "colleague" Karl Zelter on February 8, 1823, with the double object of persuading Zelter to subscribe for a copy for his famous "Singakademie" (which he evaded doing) and of bespeaking the exercise of Zelter's influence at the Prussian Court:

I wrote a grand Mass which could also be performed as an oratorio (for the poor, a laudable practice now established), but I did not want to engrave and publish the Mass in the usual way. I desired it to be accessible only to the Courts; the fee is 50 ducats. No copies other than subscription-copies will be issued, so that practically the Mass is in manuscript only. However, they must be a considerable number [of subscribers], if something is to come

of it for the author. I have here transmitted to the Royal Prussian Legation an application that His Majesty the King of Prussia be pleased to take a copy, and I have also written to Prince Radziwill that he take interest in the matter.—I beg of you to further it as much as you can.

Beethoven was more explicit about his motives in his letter of July 1, 1823, to Archduke Rudolph who apparently had expressed displeasure at the idea of withholding the Mass from the public in that unusual way:

In regard to the Mass, which Y. I. H. desired to become more generally useful, the continuously poor state of my health for several years, because of which I incurred heavy debts and had to decline the invitations to visit England, demanded that I thought of means for bettering my condition somewhat. For this the Mass seemed suitable. I was advised to offer it to several courts. Hard as it was for me to do this, nevertheless I believed that I should have to reproach myself for not doing it. Hence, I invited several courts to subscribe for this Mass. . . .

The above quotations contain practically nothing new and what *is* new, hardly one reader in a hundred would notice, except perhaps after comparing Beethoven's application to the Prussian Legation of January 23, 1823, with this sentence in Thayer:

The invitations were posted on the following dates: to the courts at Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria and Saxony on January 23; "to the other ambassadors" (as Beethoven notes) on January 26; to Weimar on February 4; to Mecklenburg and Hesse-Darmstadt on February 5; to Berlin, Copenhagen, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau on February 6; to Tuscany on February 17, and to Paris on March 1. The invitation to the court at Hesse-Cassel had been written on January 23, but it was not sent because, as Schindler says, "it had been found that nothing was to be got from the little courts." The letter came back to Beethoven and its preservation puts in our hands the formula, which, no doubt was followed in all the formal addresses. We, therefore, give it here.

It is, indeed, except for the necessary adjustment of titular phraseology, the same as the formal address to the High Royal Prussian Legation of January 23, 1823. The *newness* of the latter consists in the date of January 23, *versus* Thayer's February 6, and secondly in the fact that it hitherto remained *unpublished.* Of course, Dr. Terry does not own a

holograph letter of Beethoven, but a holograph letter of Schindler, merely signed by Beethoven.

No more ill-advised project ever entered the brain of a composer, or his brother, except possibly that of Wagner to publish his early operas at his own expense. From the day that Beethoven, either end of 1822 or early in January, 1823, sent Schindler a marked copy of a calendar from which to extract properly the foreign legations in Vienna, he could not but plunge himself into a disastrous demand on his time and that of Schindler who acted as messenger, scrivener, errand-boy, secretary and what not for his illustrious *entrepreneur* who superintended the whole silly business. What would have become of it, had more than the ten advance-subscribers enumerated by Beethoven in his letter of November 25, 1825, to Schott, honored his proposition with acceptance, is not difficult to "foresee" in retrospect. The task of preparing even ten special and neatly written manuscript copies of a "Missa Solemnis" under Beethoven's troubled eyes was not a trivial one and not to be accomplished in a few days or weeks. Far from it and, therefore, it is not at all surprising that this or that subscriber began to wonder when he was to receive the score as *quid pro quo* for the 50 ducats. Some received their scores without unreasonable delay, but others did not. For instance, the very first crowned head to subscribe, the King of Prussia, was one of the last, if not the last, to be able to add the score to his collection—not until the summer of 1824, at the earliest. In connection with this Prussian subscription, brought about by Prince Hatzfeld, students of Beethoven's life will also remember this amusing episode: when Wernhard, Director of the Chancellary of the Prussian Legation at Vienna, who probably knew the preference of his royal master in such matters, diplomatically conveyed to Beethoven the question whether he preferred a royal decoration or the 50 ducats, Beethoven promptly answered "50 ducats" and afterwards indulged in sarcastic comment on fellow-artists with an ambition for decorations—an ambition which he was to share not so many months later.

Nor did the copying of so many scores consume only time; it entailed very heavy expenses. How heavy, it would be impossible to calculate, but it stands to reason that after deduction of copying expenses and incidentals, not much of a profit can have been left to Beethoven out of his total receipts of 500 ducats, or, about $1150! The folly of this whole financial venture with its worries and responsibilities soon

began to dawn on him. Overworked Schlemmer, his copyist, applied for more money on account, just when Beethoven feared that the King of Saxony (whom in his letter to Schott anachronistically he still styled Elector) would fail him as had others. So he vented his disgust to Schindler on July 1, 1823, with this characteristic outburst:

Just now Schlemmer comes and again wants money. Now he has been paid 70 florins in advance. Merchants are required for speculations and not such poor devils as I. Until now the total fruit of this miserable speculation is only: still more debts.

JOHANN BAPTIST RUPPRECHT

JOHANN BAPTIST RUPPRECHT

Mein werther R!

Schon vor langer Zeit hatte ich 2 Melodien zu ihrem Merkenstein nieder geschrieben—allein bejde wurden unter einer Menge anderer papiere vergraben Vorgestern fand ich die hier bejgefügte, die andere ist zweistimig und scheint mir besser gerathen zu sejn, allein ich habe sie noch nicht auffinden können—da aber bej aller Unordnung in der regel nichts verlohren bej mir geht, so wird auch diese, sobald ich sie finde, ihnen mitgetheilt werden—ein grosses Vergnügen würden sie mir gewähren wenn sie mir einmal 6 noch unbekannte Gedichte von ihnen mittheilen wollten, um selbe zu komponieren, wie oder auf welche Weise sie hernach damit schalten und walten wollten, würde ganz von ihnen abhängen—nicht ganz wohl, schiebe ich meinen Besuch bej ihnen nur auf,—

Mit achtung
ihr
ergebenster
Ludwig van Beethoven

(Address) Für Seine
Wohlgebohren
Hr. Von Ruprecht

Translation

My worthy R!

Long ago I had written down two melodies for your Merkenstein—but both were buried under a lot of other papers. The day before yesterday I found the one here enclosed, the other is for *two voices* and seems to me to have turned out better, but I have not yet been able to find it. However, since with *all the disorder as a rule* nothing gets lost with me, this one, too, as soon as I find it, will be communicated to you. A great pleasure you would confer on me if on occasion you would send me six of your poems still unknown, that I might compose them. How or in what manner you would afterwards dispose of them, would depend entirely on you. Not being quite well, I merely defer my visit to you.

With esteem
Your most devoted
Ludwig van Beethoven

(Address) For his
Well-born Hr. Von Ruprecht

The photographer's reproduction of this letter in facsimile unavoidably suffered from the fact that, like one of the letters to Varena, this one could not be detached from the bound volume in which it is contained,—Mr. Paul Warburg's fascinating volume, formerly in possession of Frederick Locker, with autograph letters by about one hundred such celebrities as Beethoven, Bach (principally a canon), Luther, Voltaire, Goethe, Newton, Rembrandt, Michel Angelo, Haydn, Mozart, Franklin, Shelley, Rubens, Sir Francis Bacon, Cromwell, Handel, Poussin.[1] To Beethoven's letter to Rupprecht there is attached a clipping from a contemporary lexikon in which Beethoven still appears in the rôle of an "also ran" in this amusing fashion: "Beethoven (Ludwig van), famous musician. . . . Unfortunately he is almost totally deaf. Excellent are his symphonies and piano concertos; less his operas: *Lenore, Fidelio and many more* [*sic!*] have pleased. His principal strength lies in an excellent and rich instrumentation."

The notes for Beethoven's letter thus having begun with a quotation, further reference to authorities may be in order to determine the history and meaning of that letter. According to Prelinger, Johann Baptist Rupprecht (1776-1846) was by vocation a merchant and manufacturer at Vienna and by avocation a writer. Later he joined the nefarious tribe of

[1]As third Beethoven item in his autograph volume, Mr. Paul Warburg possesses this item (No. 915 in Prelinger):

Canone in 8va



Souvenir pour Monsieur S. M. de Boyer par Louis van Beethoven
Baden, le troisiême aout 1825

Those who like to solve musical puzzles, may find entertainment in solving this one.

As for the recipient, Riemann in his edition of Thayer convincingly demonstrated with the help of the Conversations-Hefte of that year that Beethoven simply misspelled the name of de Boer, member of the Academy of Fine Arts in Amsterdam, who visited the composer in August, 1825, and paid his respects in the most amusing of Dutch-German which he evidently, and with pride, considered one of the six languages spoken by him. Riemann thus in *1908* demolished the absurd yarn of Nohl that the recipient of the souvenir-canon was perhaps the famous Parisian surgeon Boyer whom Beethoven might have consulted. Unfortunately for this yarn, Boyer never treated Beethoven's deafness, nor is he even known ever to have met him. Nevertheless, Kalischer, Prelinger (at least in his fourth volume) naïvely copied Nohl and so did Kastner-Kapp as late as 1923.

book-censors. This step earned for him the epigram printed in Castelli's Memoirs:

> Der früher handelte mit Mandeln und Zibeben
> Der handelt jetzt mit unserm Geist und Leben.
> (He who formerly dealt in almonds and raisins
> Now deals with our mind and life.)

As an Austrian Censor, Rupprecht, indeed, could work much mischief or do much good, according to his inclination, but he hardly could wield such an influence as Beethoven must have imagined, who once jotted down this journal-entry "Through Rupprecht appeal to the Emperor about reprints,"—and not even the Emperor could have sweetened the master's bitterness on that subject.

Rupprecht's acquaintance with Beethoven seems to have begun in 1814, and it continued for several years. It was he to whom was entrusted the translation of the Scotch folk-songs which Beethoven arranged, on a liberal commission, for the folk-song enthusiast and publisher George Thomson of Edinburgh, but Steiner never appears to have issued this German edition though he acquired the rights in 1815. Whether Nohl in his Beethoven biography was the first to establish the fact from the Conversations-Hefte that Rupprecht was to accompany Beethoven in 1820 on a tour to Italy, a project abandoned like so many other projects of travel, I do not know. At any rate, Nohl refers to this project and also to this little known bit of Beethoven-Americana: during the winter of 1820-21 Beethoven thought of composing Rupprecht's opera libretto "Die Gründung von Pennsilvanien" (The Foundation of Pennsylvania), the text of which, Nohl says, is preserved among Schindler's Beethoven-papers.[1]

As to "Merkenstein," the indefatigable Nottebohm discovered sketches for the composition in a sketch-book of Beethoven's which he described in his "Zweite Beethoveniana" as belonging to "about August to December, 1814." In the same sketch-book appear sketches for the cantata "Der glorreiche Augenblick," Op. 136, first performed on November 29, 1814, and composed by Beethoven in an incredibly short time, since Tomaschek found him sketching the work as late as October tenth. Now, Nottebohm proves that Beethoven interrupted work on the cantata with sketches for "Merkenstein." Furthermore the latter appear partly for a two-voice

[1]Max Unger's article on "Beethoven und J. B. Rupprecht," Neue Züricher Zeitung, Dec. 19, 1920, perhaps contains further data. It was not accessible to me.

setting and partly for a one-voice setting of the text and, in both cases, approximate the final melodies which are quite different for both settings. Nottebohm argues from the sketches that the version for one voice preceded that for two voices and then interprets a diary entry of Beethoven for 1814 "on December 22, the song on Merkenstein was written" in favor of the one-voice version. In support of his contention that "the two-part song bearing the opus number 100 to which incorrectly that date has been applied, materialized later" he points to a sketch-book of the months of February to August 1815, in which he found a version of Op. 100 which, though final, resembles closely the first sketches of 1814. To anticipate a question that might be raised in the course of the argument, no "Merkenstein" sketches appear in sketch-books for 1816, as analyzed by Nottebohm who says that the song "Merkenstein" for one voice was published in 1815 as supplement to an almanac but not otherwise. The year 1815, however, seems mistaken because—I owe this reference to Dr. Unger—in the Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters for 1912, Prof. Max Friedlaender in an article on "German poetry in Beethoven's Music" refers to that excessively rare setting as in the fifth volume "Selam. Ein Almanach für Freunde des Mannigfaltigen," edited by Castelli and published in Vienna in 1816.

According to the Krehbiel edition of Thayer, sketches for the song appear in a sketch-book of "about" the beginning of the year 1815. Thayer-Krehbiel proceed to say: "This confirms a statement of Czerny's 'On *Merkenstein* Beethoven composed two little songs, both, I think, for almanacs.' The one published by Steiner & Co., however, does not appear to have come out in that manner," and they list under the publications of Beethoven's works in 1816, "Song: 'Merkenstein,' Op. 100; dedicated to Count Dietrichstein, Vienna, Steiner & Co., in September."

We are not told when and where Czerny made such a statement, nor are we informed in the German edition of Thayer of Riemann-Deiters' reasons for concluding their remarks about "Merkenstein" with the words "of course without Beethoven's consent," remarks (Vol. III, p. 483) which follow here in order to assemble the evidence in the case:

> The two strophic songs "Merkenstein" (by Johann August [!] Rupprecht) and "Krieger's Abschied" (by C. L. Reissig) stand entirely on the level of the plain Ode-compositions of the 18th

century or the songs of Free-Masonry and Students' Kommers [assembly] songs. "Merkenstein" Beethoven even composed twice in the year 1814, and both versions have about the same value (Gesamtausgabe Serie XXIII, No. 226, and Serie XXV, No. 276); the first version appeared as Op. 100, of course, without Beethoven's consent. . . .

Then we have Nottebohm's entry (F major, $\frac{3}{8}$ time) in his Thematic Catalogue, under Op. 100 as:

Merkenstein (Gedicht von J. B. Rupprecht. Lied für 2 Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte) [follow the first six measures of the two-voiced music, F major in $\frac{3}{8}$ to the words "Merkenstein! Merkenstein! Wo ich wandle, denk ich dein"].

Said to have been composed on Dec. 22, 1814. Title of the oldest edition, published in September, 1816. *Merkenstein* (Ein Schloss aus der grauen Vorzeit u. s. w.) nächst Baden. Ein Gedicht Sr. Excellenz dem n. ö. Landmarschall Herrn Joseph Karl Grafen von Dietrichstein in tiefster Ergebenheit gewidmet von Johann Baptist Rupprecht und für Gesang mit Begleitung des Pianoforte in Musik gesetzt von Ludwig van Beethoven. (100tes Werk.) Wien bei S. A. Steiner and Comp. (Verlagsnummer 2614. Querformat.)

A further source of information is available in Kalischer-Frimmel's notes appended to the only two Beethoven letters to Rupprecht printed in any of the editions of Beethoven's letters. The first of these letters Kalischer naturally argues to have been written before December 22, 1814, that having been, according to Beethoven's diary, the date of composition. In translation the letter reads:

With the greatest pleasure, my esteemed R., I shall put your poem to music and I shall shortly deliver it to you in person—whether it will be heavenly, that I do not know, since I am only earthly. However, I shall do all in my power, to approach as closely as possible your exaggerated prejudice in regard to me.

Your friend and servant Beethoven.

The second letter is obviously later and Prelinger and Kalischer date it December 30, 1814, because a contemporary hand added that date. Only a postscript refers to the song in these words: "Your beautiful song you will receive shortly noted in notes." Kalischer comments on these letters briefly to the effect that they refer "to the *first* setting of 'Werkenstein,' composed on December 22, 1814, and published 1815, as supplement to an almanac."

Sifting this slightly contradictory mass of data, one is compelled, in my opinion, to reach the following conclusions. Assuming that the two letters hitherto known to Beethoven specialists refer to Rupprecht's "Merkenstein" and to no other poem, clearly the date of the first letter in which Beethoven notified Rupprecht of his intention to compose the poem must be dated *substantially earlier than December 22, 1814*, in view of the fact that Beethoven had begun to sketch "Merkenstein" (in both versions!) before the completion of the cantata Op. 136 in November. Secondly it is clear that *a* setting of "Merkenstein" was actually composed and not merely sketched on December 22, 1814. Also, it is clear from the postscript to the second letter that on December 30, 1814, if that be its unquestionable date, Rupprecht had not yet received Beethoven's composition. Furthermore, the final sketches for Op. 100 in 1815, prove that by end of December, 1814 only one completed setting of "Merkenstein" existed and that the one for one voice. Even without the sketches of 1815, the German editors of Thayer would have had but a margin of two days, December thirtieth and thirty-first, for their contention that both versions were composed in 1814—on the face of it a rather improbable possibility. Having erred in assigning the composition of both versions to 1814, Riemann further erred with his statement that "the first version appeared as Op. 100." In fact, this is a double error, since the first version was not the two-part version, Op. 100, but the Lied-version for one voice and secondly because this first version appeared in an almanac in 1816, but not otherwise as sheet-music. The Op. 100 did not appear as sheet-music until September, 1816, and was not previously issued in an almanac, Czerny to the contrary notwithstanding.

Does all this help to determine the date of Mr. Warburg's hitherto unpublished letter of Beethoven to Rupprecht? On the other hand, since the fact that sketches for the second version of "Merkenstein" took the final form of the melody between February and August, 1815, does not necessarily prove this two-part version, Op. 100, to have been *composed* in that year, does perhaps Mr. Warburg's letter shed additional light on that still unsettled point? In this commentator's opinion affirmative answers suggest themselves to both questions, though in part by mere hypothetical reasoning.

Beethoven began this letter to Rupprecht with the remark "long ago I had written down two melodies for your Merkenstein." He must have meant months or weeks, but certainly

not just a few days and presumably he referred to finished compositions rather than to mere sketches. He had mislaid the two manuscripts. He had then found the version for one voice the day before he sent his undated letter together with the music to Rupprecht, but he had not yet found the version for two voices, in his opinion the better one of the two. Obviously it follows that neither the first nor the second version can possibly have been published when Beethoven wrote his letter. Therefore, the date of the letter precedes the time of publication of the Lied-version for one voice in an almanac in 1816, and is subsequent to the date of final composition of the two-part version, the last sketches for which belong to the first half of the preceding year. Hence, summer of 1815, suggests itself as the most probable date of the letter and that implies, in view of the "long ago," some earlier month of 1815, as the time of actual composition of the two-part version.

This, too, he later seems to have found among his papers and incidentally thereby proved in this instance, at any rate, that "with all the disorder, as a rule, nothing got lost with him." He then either sent the manuscript to Rupprecht, as promised—or, he sent it to Steiner who then published it on September 16, 1816. That late date, it seems to me, is rather significant. In brief, my hypothesis is that the two-part version reached Steiner not long before September sixteenth and that Beethoven happened to discover the manuscript shortly before he sent it either to Rupprecht or to Steiner. Unfortunately his correspondence with Steiner & Co. forsakes us in this matter, though otherwise helpful. His delivery of "the promised [music] for voice with piano" to Steiner simultaneously with a letter dated by Kastner-Kapp, April, 1816, may or may not refer to "Merkenstein," but a letter written to Steiner from Baden in September of that year leaves no such doubt. In it occurs this sentence: "I hear, that the song on Merkenstein appears at skating-time, *i. e. veni, vidi, vinci!!!*" What the meaning of this Cæsarean quotation is, I do not know, but the sentence hardly speaks for the contention of the German editors of Thayer that Steiner published the song on September 16, 1816, "of course, without Beethoven's consent." This much for "Merkenstein," so inconsequential a work in both settings that, were the fame of Beethoven to depend on either or both of them, he would be in music just as minor a figure as Rupprecht is in literature.

The hitherto unpublished letter to Rupprecht calls fortunately for but one final bit of comment. Apparently

Zu Seite 202.

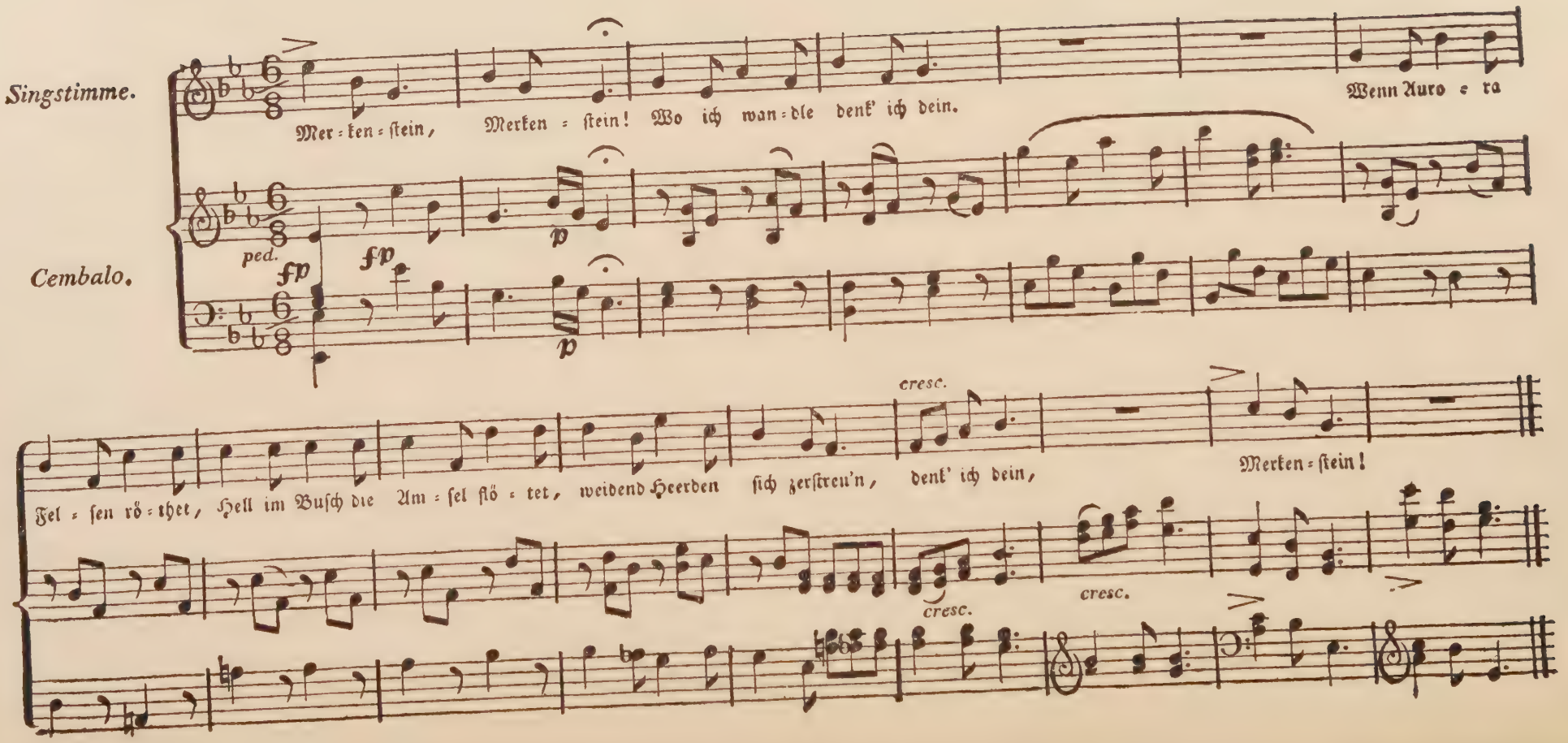
Merkenstein,

von J. B. Rupprecht,

in Musik gesetzt

von

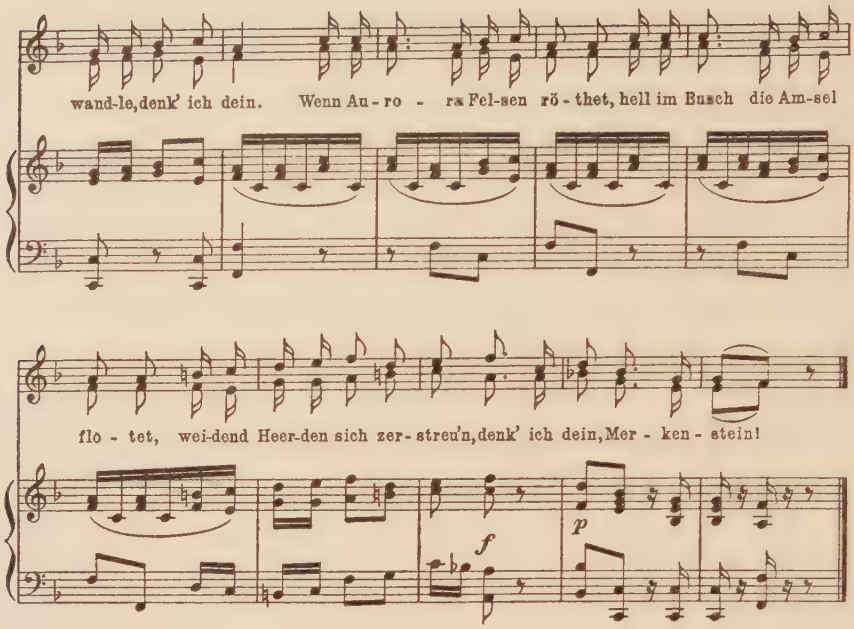
Ludwig van Beethoven.



Beethoven thought highly not only of "Merkenstein" as a poem but of Rupprecht as a poet in general. Otherwise he would hardly have requested "six still unknown poems" of our Viennese merchant and manufacturer and (like Hans Sachs) *Poet dazu* for the purpose of composing them. Apparently nothing came of that project and it is not recorded in Beethoven literature, or, to be more exact if recorded, it escaped me. In case no record exists hitherto in print, then Mr. Warburg's letter has added an unknown but interesting little fact to the supplementary material for Beethoven's biography.

In conclusion this: while the master's biographers treat his "Merkenstein" with undisguised indifference from the esthetic point of view, the publisher Peters appreciated that by-product of Beethoven's genius more highly from his point of view as a merchant. When he negotiated on July 12, 1822, with Beethoven for works of small calibre he expressed his preference in the way of songs for some in the style of "Adelaide" or "Schloss Markenstein." "Adelaide"*or*"Merkenstein"—verily, we music-publishers sometimes have queer notions of comparative values! However, the reader may judge for herself or himself and also whether or no her or his own preference coincides with that of the composer. For these purposes both versions of "Merkenstein," extremely scarce in the original editions, are here reprinted; the one from the Gesamtausgabe of Beethoven's works, the other, by courtesy of Professor Friedlaender, in *fac-simile* from his copy of "Selam," 1816.




wand-le, denk' ich dein. Wenn Au - ro - ra Fel-sen rö - thet, hell im Busch die Am-sel
flo - tet, wei-dend Heer-den sich zer-streu'n, denk' ich dein, Mer - ken - stein!
f
p

ANTON SCHINDLER

Der gestrige Vorfall, den Sie aus dem Berichte an die P. ersehen werden, ist nur [illegible word: sicher?] geeignet, diese Sache der löbl. Polizej zu emphelen; die aussagen eines Ungenannten stim̃en ebenfalls ganz mit den ihrigen überein; hier können Privatmenschen nicht mehr helfen, nur Behörden mit Macht versehen.

ihr
Beethoven

Für Hr. Von Schindler

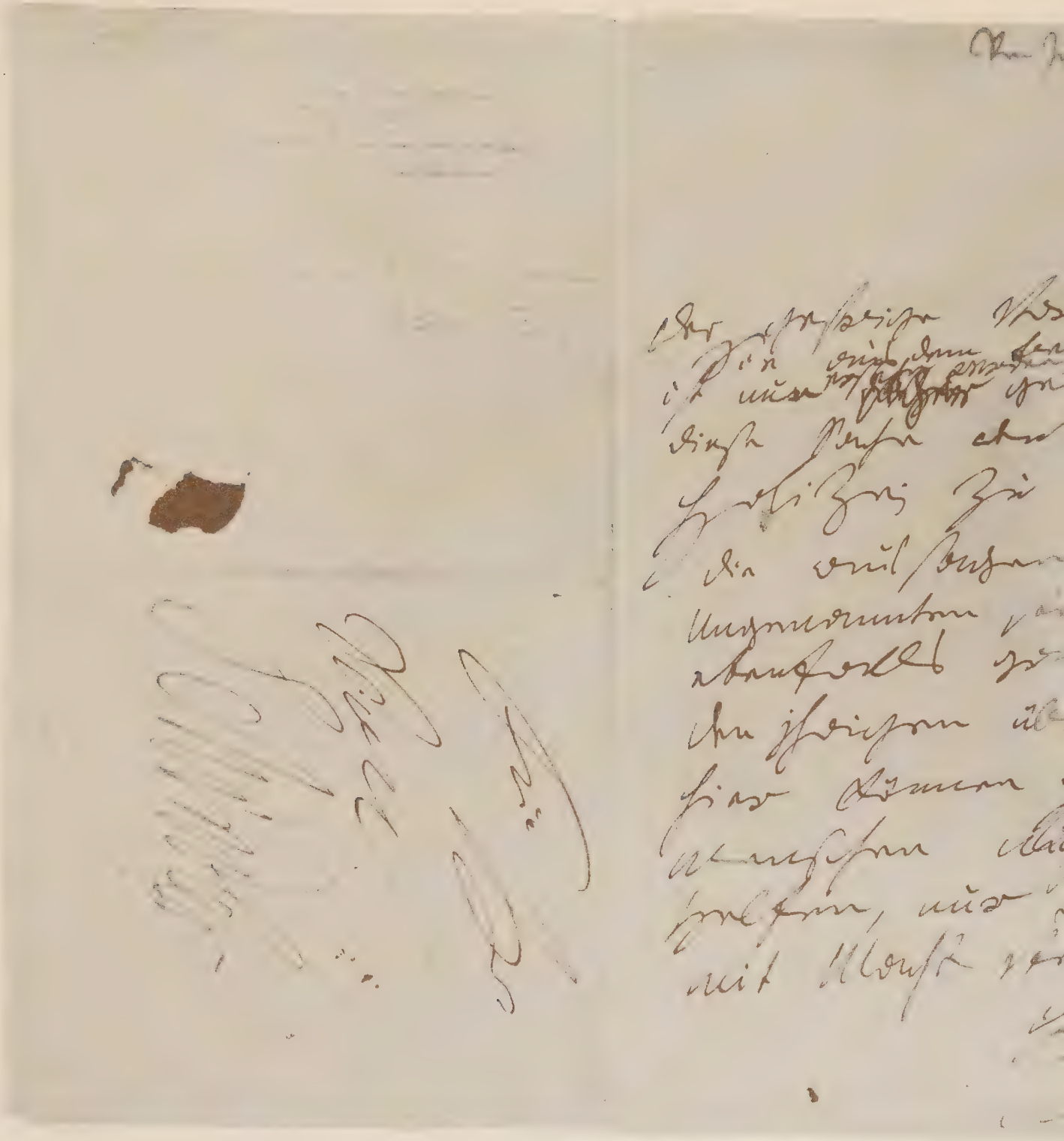
Translation

The incident of the day before yesterday which you will perceive from the report to the P. [olice], is only [certainly?] of a kind to recommend this matter to the worthy Police; the testimony of an unnamed person also agrees wholly with yours. Here private persons can no longer help, only the authorities equipped with power.

Your
Beethoven

For Hr. Von Schindler

Of course, Anton Schindler had even less right to a title of nobility than Beethoven, who bestowed the *von* on him and other commoners simply in accordance with a local usage which may or may not prevail to-day, but still flourished before the War. The *von* is rather amusing in view of the dictatorial tone Beethoven adopted in many of his orders to Schindler. They were the orders of a *boss* addressed to a *factotum* and it depended largely on the mood of the master whether they contained a note of friendliness towards him who in later years proudly printed on his visiting-cards: *l'ami de Beethoven*. This relation of friendship, one cannot but help feeling, was rather one-sided. Not because in splenetic moments Beethoven in his letters would call Schindler an "arch-scoundrel" and other such ill-tempered and unjust epithets, but because Schindler's personality does not appear to have struck a very sympathetic chord in Beethoven to whom ever since 1815, Schindler had doggedly attached himself in the capacity of a *quasi* private secretary. Of Schindler's unselfish devotion to Beethoven—one might almost call it



slavery—there can be no doubt; no errand, no task was too mean for him, if he could but be of service to the man whose genius and personality overawed him. And, since the master at every stage of his life required the services of a disinterested, intelligent and ever-watchful *fac-totum*, he availed himself of Schindler unremittingly, except when in 1825 and 1826, Karl Holz superseded him temporarily in favor. Schindler, however, re-entered into his domain of indispensability during Beethoven's fatal illness, sacrificing his own interests and subjecting himself to a well-nigh unbearable strain from his dying master's "terrible stubbornness."

By virtue of his close association with Beethoven, Schindler, violinist and conductor, became the logical man to write the first authoritative biography of the composer (1840). Granted that Thayer and others frequently saw themselves obliged to challenge Schindler's authority, for the years of his Beethovenian servitude, at any rate, his narrative cannot be brushed aside complacently, and certainly not when Schindler pictures the man and sufferer Beethoven, as he knew him. By a curious twist of Fate, Schindler who steadfastly refused payment from Beethoven, profited nevertheless in the end from his disinterestedness. Not only did the master present him with several autograph scores, but, in the words of Thayer, "after the death of Beethoven, Breuning gave him many papers which seemed valueless then but are looked upon as invaluable now. Moreover, he disposed of his Beethoven *memorabilia* to the Royal Library of Berlin for an annuity of 400 thalers—all of which, however, does not detract from the disinterestedness of his labors for Beethoven, alive, suffering and so frequently helpless."

Among his Beethoveniana apparently was at one time the little note just quoted and now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. On the surface it reads, as if it might refer to dishonesty of servants, of which Beethoven suffered aplenty, but in reality it concerns something very much more unsavory, incidents which assign the letter probably to July, 1823. Schindler gave vent to his indignation about the matter in his biography, but also reported it to Beethoven in a letter of July 3, 1823, and quoted by Thayer (III, p. 132) as follows:

> As I have been visiting him [Beethoven's brother Johann] three to four times a day ever since he took to his bed, and have entertained him by the hour, I have had an opportunity carefully

to observe these two persons; hence I can assure you on my honor that, despite your venerable name, they deserve to be shut up, the old one in prison, the young one in the house of correction . . . this illness came opportunely for both of them, to go their ways without trammel. These beasts would have let him rot if others had not taken pity on him. He might have died a hundred times without the one in the Prater or at Nussdorf, the other at the baker's deigning to give him a look. . . . He often wept over the conduct of his family and once he gave way completely to his grief and begged me to let you know he is being treated so that you might come and give the two the beating they deserve. . . . It is most unnatural and more than barbarous if that woman, while her husband is lying ill, introduces her lover into his room, prinks herself like a sleigh-horse in his presence and then goes driving with him, leaving the sick husband languishing at home. She did this very often. Your brother himself called my attention to it, and is a fool for tolerating it so long.

The "old one"—Beethoven's sister-in-law who thus paraded her affair with an officer; the "young one," her ante-matrimonial daughter, Beethoven's niece only by marriage and morally about as shameless as her mother. Verily, Beethoven had no reason to be proud of any member of his family, whether of his two brothers, or their wives or of his nephew Karl, the son of Karl Kaspar van Beethoven who had died in November, 1815! Needless to say, the conduct of his brother Johann and of the two women—whom he characterized in his rage as "the canailles Fettlümerl [Fat-lump] and Bastard"—infuriated Beethoven. A letter from his brother then made Beethoven explode on August 13, 1823, in an answer of language so unbridled that Thayer's translation of the pertinent passages is rather refined in tone by comparison:

I received your letter of the 10th at the hands of the miserable scoundrel Schindler. . . . You cannot well be wholly unadvised as to what the two *canailles*, Lump and Bastard, are doing to you, and you have had letters on the subject from me and Karl, for, little as you deserve it I shall never forget that you are my brother, and a good angel will yet come to rid you of these two *canailles*. This former and present strumpet who received visits from her fellow no less than three times while you were ill, and who in addition to everything else has your money wholly in her hands. O infamous disgrace! Isn't there a spark of manhood in you? ! ! ! . . . About coming to you I will write another time. Ought I so to *degrade* myself as to associate with such bad company? Mayhap this can

be avoided and we [he and nephew Karl] yet pass a few days with you. . . . Farewell. Unseen I hover over you and work through others so that these *canailles* shall not strangle you.

To the credit of Schindler be it said that he dissuaded Beethoven from his rash intention, expressed in the letter of July, 1823, to drag the police into this unsavory episode. However, if Nohl follows up that letter with this communication to Schindler "Fount of wisdom! I kiss the hem of your coat" and connects it hypothetically with the police-letter, unfortunately his attempt to let Beethoven express his gratitude to Schindler in that complimentary fashion fails. For the simple reason that that line is only one of several of a letter which has no connection with the *canailles*. Possibly Beethoven did thank Schindler, but he also, if Kalischer is right, took out his vengeance on the two *canailles* musically with a canon on the vulgarly wrathful text "Fettlümerl Bankert haben triumphiert."

B. SCHOTT SÖHNE

B. SCHOTT SÖHNE

Sonnabend den 19. Aug. 1826

Euer Wohlgebohrn!

Ich melde ihnen nur, dass das quartett bej Frank abgegeben worden sej vor 7 Tägen, sie schrieben, dass es ja ein original quartett sejn sollte, es war mir empfindlich, aus Scherz schrieb ich daher auf die Aufschrift, dass es zusam̃en getragen, es ist unterdessen funkel nagelneu—die Metronomisirungen (hohl der Teufel allen Mechanismus) folgen—folgen—folgen—mich hat ein grosser Unglücksfall betroffen, aber durch Gottes Hülfe wird es sich noch vieleicht günstig wenden—

Freundschaftlich
ihr
Ergebenster
Beethoven

derjenige, welcher schon
mehrmals die Briefe an Sie
geschrieben, mein lieber angenom̃ener
Sohn kam bejnahe durch sich selbst ums
Leben, noch ist Rettung möglich.

[Address] An die Herren B. Schott Söhne in Majnz

Translation

Saturday, Aug. 19, 1826.

Your Well-born!

I merely notify you that the quartet was delivered to Frank seven days ago. You wrote that it should be really an original quartet. That made me wince; hence, for fun I wrote on the title that it was compiled. However, it is brand-new—the metronomisations (to the Devil with all mechanisms) follow—follow—follow—a great misfortune has befallen me, but with God's help perhaps things will yet take a favorable turn—

In Friendship
Most respectfully
your
Beethoven

he, who several times
wrote the letters to you,
my dear adopted son
almost lost his life by his
own hand; it is still possible
to save him.

[Address] To the Herren B. Schott Söhne in Mayence

One misses this important letter in Kalischer, hence also in Shedlock-Hull. The explanation for the omission is simple: the fifth volume of Kalischer appeared in the year 1808, and so did the fifth volume of the German edition of Thayer. For that volume the editors Deiters and Riemann utilized this letter which they had found among Thayer's material in a copy made for him by Mr. J. J. Mickley of Philadelphia, a friend of the owner Mr. F. J. Drier whose collection then passed into the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In other words, the letter had emigrated to America many years prior to 1908. Under the circumstances it is not impossible that Mr. Drier, unbeknown to European scholars, had permitted publication somewhere in some American magazine. If such a first publication took place long ago in America, then it would not be strange that even Mr. Krehbiel did not know of it.

Beethoven's contemptuous remark about metronomisations is rather interesting in view of his endorsement of Mälzel's contrivance on previous occasions and his intimacy with him—while it lasted. Soon they quarrelled and their quarrels ended in legal proceedings, but off and on the friendly relations were resumed and we know that as late as 1818, Mälzel worked on a hearing machine for Beethoven for use in conducting. Whether or no Beethoven's conduct towards Mälzel was creditable or not, is a matter of individual opinion which need not fully concur with the stern verdict against Beethoven in the American edition of Thayer. Mälzel, by the way, visited the United States and lived at Philadelphia for some time before his death at sea on July 21, 1838, and some of his information about the personal relations between him and Beethoven, Thayer derived in 1873 by way of correspondence from the Mr. Mickley mentioned above who had known Mälzel personally.

As for the quartet, it is the one in C sharp minor, Op. 131, which Beethoven shortly before his death declared to be his greatest, though generally he preferred to think of his last quartets as greatest "each in its own way." Ready for final revision of the copyist's score in July, 1826, the quartet was sold to Schott in Mayence who published it in April, 1827, as Op. 131—shortly after the composer's death and, according to Schindler, without Beethoven having heard it performed. On the revised copy sent to Schott in August, Beethoven had written "4tes [he crossed out 5th] Quartet (of the newest ones) . . . *N.B.* Pilfered from this and that." Schott, having

paid good money for the quartet, became alarmed over this *N.B.* and requested an explanation. They received it in the letter of August 19, 1826, in which Beethoven's mind falters—note the repetition of the word "folgen"—before he ends the letter with the pathetic out-cry over the calamity which had just befallen him.

Much has been said about Beethoven's deafness as the main tragedy of his life. A tragedy certainly as the malady gradually impeded his free social intercourse and tended more and more to accentuate his suspicious character so that at times he seems to think evil of practically everyone with whom he is thrown into contact. And yet for a composer who hears his music with the inner ear, there may be in store much worse things than deafness. In short, not his deafness amounted to the main tragedy in Beethoven's life but the adoption of Karl, the son of his brother Karl who died in November, 1815, of consumption. Rarely has the life of a great man been affected so disastrously as that of Beethoven by the fifth clause of his brother's will and the codicil to it, both of November 14th. The fateful clause reads:

I appoint my brother Ludwig van Beethoven guardian. Inasmuch as this, my deeply beloved brother, has often aided me with true brotherly love in the most magnanimous and noble manner, I ask, with full confidence and trust in his noble heart, that he shall bestow the love and friendship which he often showed me, upon my son Karl, and do all that is possible to promote the intellectual training and further welfare of my son. I know that he will not deny me this, my request.

and the codicil:

Having learned that my brother, Hr. Ludwig van Beethoven, desires after my death to take wholly to himself my son Karl, and wholly to withdraw him from the supervision and training of his mother, and inasmuch as the best of harmony does not exist between my brother and my wife, I have found it necessary to add to my will that I by no means desire that my son be taken away from his mother, but that he shall always and so long as his future career permits, remain with his mother, to which end the guardianship of him is to be exercised by her as well as my brother. Only by unity can the object which I had in view in appointing my brother guardian of my son, be attained, wherefore, for the welfare of my child, I recommend *compliance* to my wife and more *moderation* to my brother.

God permit them to be harmonious for the sake of my child's welfare. This is the last wish of the dying husband and brother.

It was not to be fulfilled. Instead, the seeds of tragedy, discernible in this fatal document, soon began to sprout and made life miserable not only for the main sufferers but for all destined to be involved in the whole wretched business. To sum up the psychology of the drama in one sentence: the maternal instinct of a woman whom her co-guardian despised and feared because of the supposed bad influence of her morals on her son, at battle with the boy's foster-father, fit neither by temperament, training nor his mode of life for his self-imposed task and yet subordinating henceforth everything to that trust and longing desperately, stubbornly, but in vain to make Karl love him as devotedly and deeply as he loved Karl. One need but glance at the forty or more lines of laconic entries under "Guardianship of his Nephew" in Mr. Krehbiel's index to his edition of Thayer to get a fair inkling of the tragic futility of it all with its protracted wranglings between lawyers and courts, Beethoven's bitter and long memorials, his erratic decisions for the boy's proper education, his many epistolary and verbal admonitions and entreaties to Karl, pouring out to him all his disappointed love and rejoicing in the least sign of recognition of that pathetic, indeed pathological, love. Legally, in 1820, Beethoven won out, but—as Thayer justly says—"at what a cost to himself, his art, the world! What time, what labors, what energy had he not taken away from his artistic creations! What had he not expended in the way of peace of mind, of friendship, of physical comfort, of wear of brains and nerve-force, for the privilege of keeping the boy to himself, of watching unmolested over his physical welfare and directing his intellectual and moral training unhindered!" Even so, the legal victory did not lessen the underlying tragic strain and had on Beethoven himself and his character the effect that his obsession to provide financially for Karl's future led him into what Schindler called an "orgy of speculation" and stained at times his vaunted integrity in business-matters so that occasionally one recognizes only with difficulty Beethoven's fundamentally honest and honorable character.

And Karl? Throughout, this talented but superficial and unreliable lad was placed in an impossible position. Filial love and obedience to his foster-father's wishes stood in eternal conflict and his own misery was aggravated by his passive and

active resistance to any restraint placed on the stirrings within the young man of twenty to sow his wild oats. Under the circumstances, his attempt at suicide was not, after all, a terribly abnormal act. His life was saved and Lieutenant Fieldmarshall Baron von Stutterheim found a cadetship for him in his regiment at Iglau, for which act of kindness Beethoven dedicated to him the Quartet, Op. 131, the dedication originally having been intended for his friend Wolfmayer whom, however, Beethoven immortalized by dedicating to him the Quartet, Op. 135. Karl's life was saved but that of Beethoven was sacrificed. After Karl left the hospital, his uncle took him to his brother Johann's at Gneixendorf, there to reconvalesce. Then came that wretched journey back to Vienna in December when Beethoven contracted inflammation of the lungs or the peritoneum which left him with but little power of resistance against his fatal cirrhosis of the liver with dropsy as its consequence.

Quite aside from the direct and indirect physical consequences of Karl's desperate act, the horror and shame of it—suicide under Austrian law being a *quasi* criminal offense—broke Beethoven more than the brooding over his deafness or his worldly prospects or his vain hope for a woman whom in honor he could call his life-companion. Beethoven was a bachelor by circumstances, not by inclination. He longed for a wife and he longed for children. That ought to be abundantly clear to all who catch the under-tone of the tender letters he wrote to his "dear son" Karl as a "loving father." On this nephew and adopted son, Beethoven had lavished too much affection not to have aged terribly under that cruel blow. And yet it was but the climax to a mood of misery to which Beethoven in 1816, gave vent in this pitiable self-reflection: "Let go operas and everything else; write only for your orphan! and then a hut where you live out this unhappy life."

AMALIE SEBALD

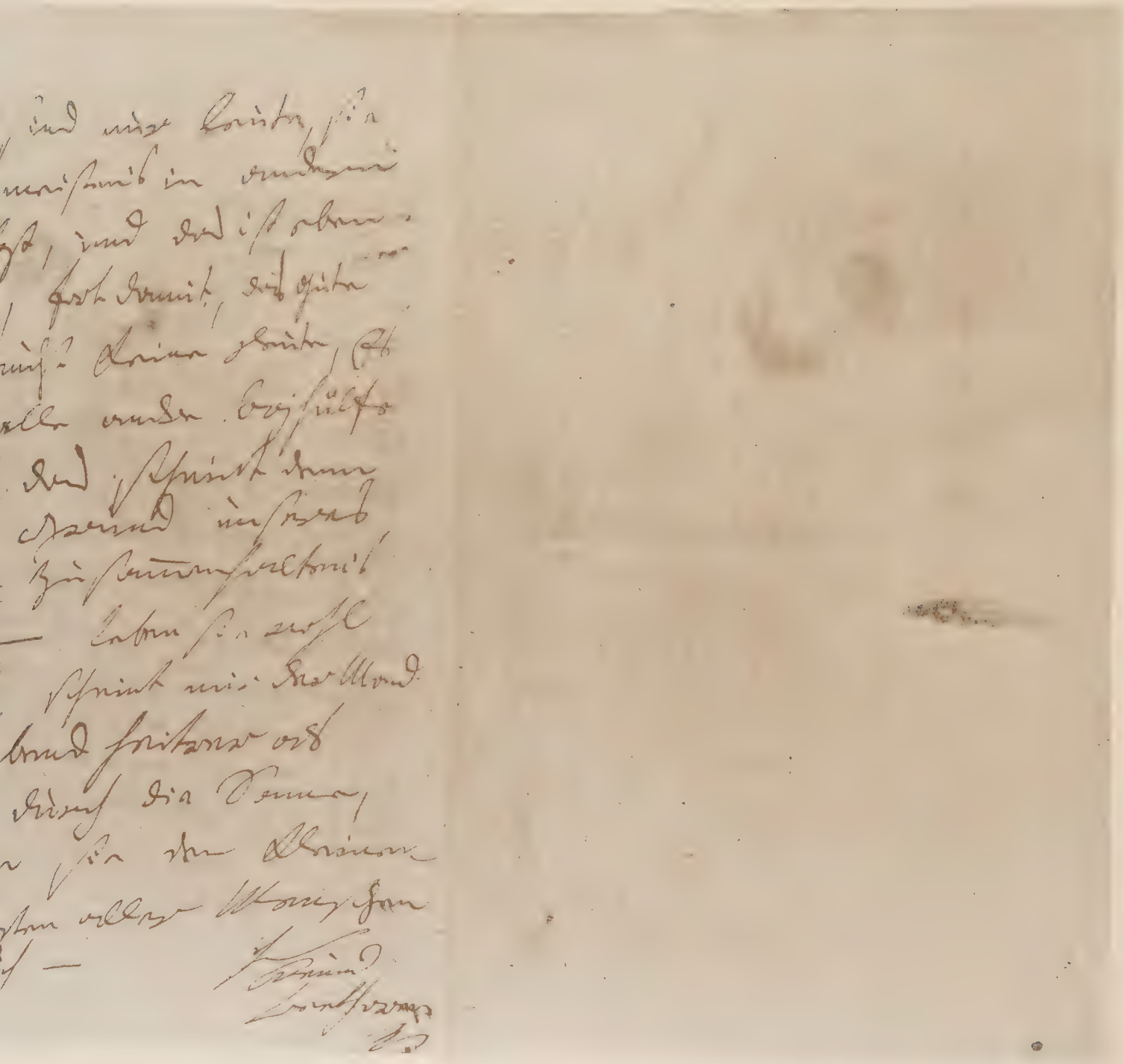
AMALIE SEBALD

Since Thayer published his impression many years ago that all of Beethoven's letters to Amalie Sebald were preserved in a public library in New York, which could have meant only one of the component parts of the New York Public Library, this impression has continued, unverified, in Beethoven literature. As a coincidence it is strange enough that of Beethoven's seven preserved letters to Amalie Sebald (two other communications not being letters) not less than four found their way to America, of which, however, only one is recorded as preserved at the New York Public Library. Excepting the first of the seven, all are undated, but all belong to the month of September, 1812. This absence of dates does not permit an absolutely certain chronological arrangement and for that reason one will not find the seven letters uniformly arranged in all biographies or editions of Beethoven's letters. All seven bear witness to a physical indisposition of the composer and their sequence simply depends on how one sees Beethoven's illness progress in them. The arrangement in Thayer is perhaps not the only one possible within the bounds of logic, but his arrangement I here follow, by practically reprinting the translations in Thayer of the four letters to Amalie Sebald known to me as in America and printed in Thayer as Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 of the series, now owned by Mrs. Dakin, Mr. Anderson, the New York Public Library and Mr. Riesenfeld.

Teplitz am 16 ten September 1812

Tyrann ich?! ihr Tyrann! Nur Misdeutung kann sie dieses sagen lassen, wie wenn eben dieses ihr Urtheil keine Übereinstim̃ung mit mir andeutete!—Nicht Tadel deswegen, es wäre eher Glück für sie—ich befand mich seit gestern schon nicht ganz wohl, seit diesem Morgen äusserte sich's stärker, etwas Unverdauliches für mich genossen ist die Ursache davon, und die reizbare Natur in mir ergreift ebenso das schlechte als Gute, wie es scheint, wenden sie dieses jedoch nicht auf meine Moralische Natur an.—die leute sagen nichts, es sind nur leute, sie sehn sich meistens in anderen nur selbst, und das ist eben Nichts; fort damit, das Gute Schöne braucht keine Leute, Es ist ohne alle andre bejhülfe da und das scheint denn doch der Grund unseres Zusam̃enhaltens zu sejn—leben Sie wohl liebe A., Scheint mir der Mond heute Abend heitrer





als den Tag durch die Sonne, so sehn sie den Kleinen Kleinsten aller Menschen bej sich—

ihr Freund
Beethoven

(Address) Für Amalie von
Sebald

* *
*

liebe gute A: seit ich gestern von ihnen gieng, verschlimmerte sich wieder mein Zustand, und seit gestern abends bis jetzt verliess ich noch nicht das Bette, ich wollte ihnen heute Nachricht geben, und glaubte dann wieder mich dadurch ihnen so wichtig scheinen machen zu wollen, so liess ich es sejn—was träumen sie, dass sie mir nichts sejn können, mündlich wollen wir darüber liebe A. reden, imer wünschte ich mir, dass ihnen meine Gegenwart ruhe Frieden einflösste, und dass sie zutraulich gegen mich wären;—ich hoffe mich morgen besser zu befinden, und einige Stunden werden uns noch da während ihrer Anwesenheit übrig bleiben, in der Natur uns bejde wechselseitig zu erheben zu erheitern—gute Nacht liebe A. recht viel dank für die Beweise ihrer gesinnungen für ihren Freund

Beethoven

in Tiedge will ich blättern
(No address)

* *
*

Es geht schon liebe A. besser, wenn sie es anständig heissen, allein zu mir zu komen, so können sie mir eine grosse Freude machen, ist aber dass sie dieses unanständig finden, so wissen sie, wie ich die Freiheit aller Menschen ehre, und wie sie auch imer hierin und in andern fällen handeln mögen nach ihren Grundsäzen oder nach Willkühr, mich finden sie imer gut und als

ihren Freund,
Beethoven

(Address) Für Amalie von Sebald

* *
*

Ich kann ihnen noch nichts bestimtes über mich sagen, bald scheint es mir besser geworden zu sejn, bald wieder im alten Gleise fortzugehn oder mich in einen längern Krankheits Zustand versetzen zu können—könnte ich meine Gedanken über meine

krankheit durch eben so bestimte Zeichen als meine Gedanken in der Musik ausdrücken, so wollte ich mir bald selbst helfen—auch heute muss ich das Bette noch imer hüthen—leben sie wohl und erfreuen sie sich ihrer Gesundheit, liebe A.

ihr Freund
Beethoven

(Address) Für Amalie

Translation

Teplitz, September 16, 1812.

Tyrant—I? Your tyrant! Only a misapprehension can lead you to say this as if exactly this, your judgment of me indicated no agreement with me! But no blame to you on this account; it is rather a piece of good fortune for you.—Yesterday I was not wholly well; since this morning I have grown worse; something indigestible of which I partook is the cause, and the excitable part of me appears to seize upon the bad as well as the good; but do not apply this to my moral nature. The people mean nothing, they are only people; they generally see only themselves in others, and precisely that is nothing; away with this; the good, the beautiful needs no people. It is here without any help and that, after all, seems to be the reason for our mutual attachment.—Farewell, dear A. If the moon shines brighter for me this evening than the sun by day, you will see with you the small, least of men.

Your friend
Beethoven

(Address) For Amalie von Sebald

* *
*

Dear good A. After leaving you yesterday, my condition grew worse again and from last evening until now I have not left bed. I wanted to send you word to-day, and then again believed it would look as if I wanted thereby to appear as important for you, so I left it undone.—What a dream of yours that you can be nothing to me! By word of mouth we will talk about that, dear A.; always my wish was that my presence might impart to you rest, peace, and that you would be more confiding toward me. I hope to feel better to-morrow and then some hours will still remain for us during your presence here mutually to uplift, to gladden us in Nature.—Good-night, dear A., many thanks for the proofs of your sentiments towards your friend

Beethoven

I will glance through the leaves
of Tiedge

(No address)

Liebe gute A! Seit gestern etwas schwer ging, war
gestern mir wieder mein Zustand, und seit gestern
abend [illegible] ist was nicht mehr, ich wollte schon
heute Nachricht geben, und gewünscht denn wieder mich
Ihnen so nützlich scheinen machen zu können, so
wäre ich da — und betrauere sie, dass sie mir
nicht, wie Sie, mündlich erklären wie dieses
Ihr Ihnen, unser wünschte ich mir, dass Ihnen
meine Gesinnungen dieser Blätter nicht Ihnen und
dass sie Zudringlich gestern mich etwas, — ich hoffe mich
werden bessern Sie beginnen, und nimmer Stunden
werden muss uns der erfüllend ihrer Gemeinschaft übrig
bleiben, in der Hoffnung muss bitte auf ab[illegible]
Sie verbleiben Sie verbleiben — gute Nacht Liebe
Da [illegible] Herz für die treue
ihrer Gesinnungen für ihren Freund

Lenchen

in Liebe Willi Blättchen.



I am already better, dear A. If you think it *proper* to come to me alone, you can give me a great pleasure, but if you think it *improper*, you know how I honor the liberty of all people, and no matter how you may act in this and all other cases, according to your principles or caprice, you will always find me kind and

Your friend
Beethoven

(Address) For Amalie von Sebald

* *
*

I cannot yet tell you anything definite about myself. Sometimes I seem to have improved and sometimes things appear to proceed in the old rut or to be preparing a long sickness for me. If I could express my thoughts concerning my sickness with as definite symbols as I express my thoughts in music, I should soon help myself. To-day, too, I must keep to my bed. Farewell, and rejoice in your good health, dear A.

Your friend
Beethoven

For Amalie

The tone of these four letters resembles that of the other three. Hence, any reader may form his own opinion of the nature and intensity of Beethoven's affection for Amalie *von* Sebald, as he addressed her according to an odd Austrian fashion mentioned under Schindler. That Beethoven carried on more than a summer-resort flirtation and was deeply attached to her, cannot be doubted. This deep impression lasted for many years after her marriage to Justizrat Krause in Berlin—her name appears in the deaf master's Conversation Books as late as 1823—and, since Beethoven once jocularly remarked that his love-affairs generally did not last more than seven months, the impression must have been deep, indeed.

Beethoven, though he imposed the strictest principles of honor on himself for his conduct towards married women and resented in others loose morals in that respect, never for long was without an affair of the heart. Indeed, as Ferdinand Ries confides to us in his "Biographical Notices," Beethoven made conquests which would have been difficult for an Adonis. Susceptible as he proved himself on many an occasion to the charm and beauty of the fairer sex, Amalie Sebald, with her

attractive personality, lovely singing voice and pretty face, captivated him immediately when he made her acquaintance at Teplitz in the summer of 1811. Otherwise he hardly would have requested Breitkopf & Härtel in July, 1812, to send to Berlin his Goethe songs which he desired to present to Amalie Sebald, "a pupil of Zelter" and "an amiable young woman" "of whom we are very fond." Less than a year before, on August 8, 1811; he wrote to her on a sheet of paper this oft-repeated couplet

Ludwig van Beethoven
Den Sie, wenn Sie auch wollten,
Doch nicht vergessen sollten.

(Whom, even if you would
Forget, you never should.)

Then in a letter to the poet Tiedge, on September 6, 1811, after the "amiable young woman" had left Teplitz: "Of Amalie I know at least that she lives" and "to the Countess [Elise von der Recke, Tiedge's friend] a very tender and yet respectful hand-kiss, to Amalie a very fiery kiss, when no one sees us." Only a modicum of imagination is required for the surmise that not only curative waters would have attracted Beethoven in the following year again to Teplitz, had he known in advance that Amalie would be there, too! He renewed the acquaintance in September, 1812 and the fruit of his renewed acquaintance with Amalie, we have in his seven letters to her and a final bantering note, the whole correspondence ending, as it began, with the word "tyrant." That the fruit savored of bitterness, becomes apparent from an entry in his "Journal" later in the year 1812, probably still September and provided the initial in this pathetic out-cry has correctly been read as an *A* and refers to none but Amalie Sebald! "Thou mayest not be man, not for thyself, only for others; for thee there is happiness no longer except in thyself, in thy art. O God, give me strength to conquer myself! Since nothing must chain me to Life. In this way with A. everything goes to destruction."

However serious Beethoven's intentions were towards Amalie Sebald, the fact remains that she did not marry him, but a few years later Justizrath Krause. That Beethoven did not forget her, I have stated and possibly, as his authoritative biographers claim, the song-cycle "An die ferne Geliebte," Op. 98, of April, 1816, owed its inspiration to his

continued infatuation for Amalie Sebald. But, in my opinion, even then it would not necessarily follow that Beethoven referred to Amalie Sebald when on May 8, 1816, he wrote to Ries: "I found only One, whom I shall probably never call mine; I am not, therefore, a hater of women" or when Fanny del Rio in September, 1816, overheard Beethoven speak in a conversation with her father of "his unhappiness in love. Five years ago he had made the acquaintance of a person, a closer union with whom he had looked upon as the greatest happiness of his life. It could not be thought of, almost an impossiblity, a chimera, yet it is now as on the first day. . . . But it did not reach a declaration. . . . "

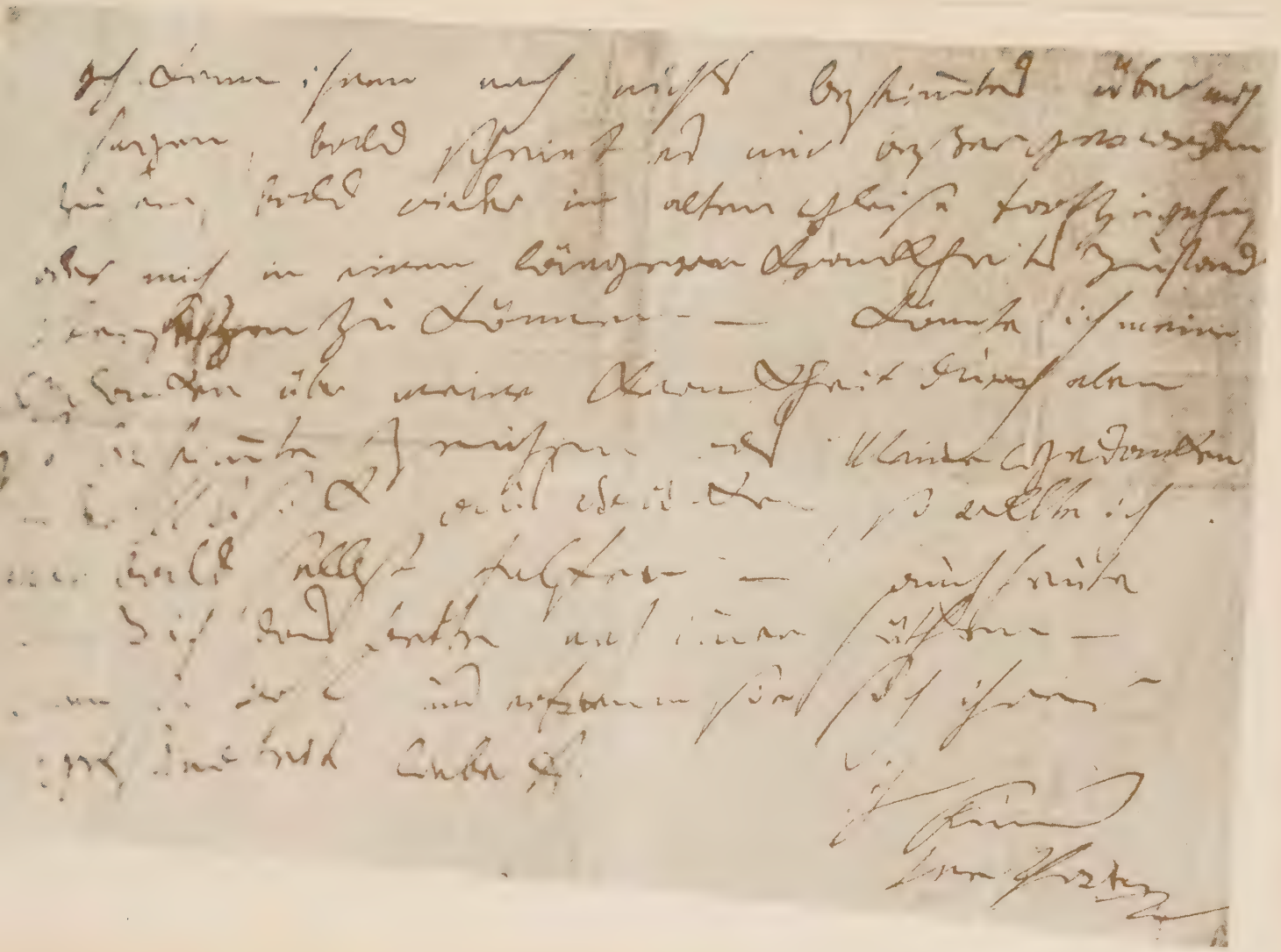
If applied to Amalie Sebald, naturally all this leads only to an "absent beloved," but by no means to her whom Beethoven in one of the most famous of all love-letters called his "immortal-beloved,"—though the baffling dates of Monday, July 6th and Tuesday, July 7th, in that composite letter can be placed, as Thomas-San-Galli and Max Unger have argued, in no other year except 1812. But this is dangerous ground and space forbids to participate here in the controversy about the mystery whether the "immortal beloved" was the Countess Giulietta Guicciardi or the Countess Therese Brunsvik or Theresa von Malfatti or Amalie Sebald or any other woman who fascinated Beethoven and, by the irony of Fate, was immortalized by him anonymously. However, if the argument be that Beethoven's utterances of 1816, point to the "immortal beloved," why not also, with its obvious consequences, the entry of 1817, in his "Journal":

> Only Love, yes, only love may give you a happier life. O God, let me find her, her at last, who strengthens me in Virtue, who is permitted to be mine.
>
> Baden, July 27th, when the *M.* drove by and it seemed as if she looked at me.

On the other hand, if Mr. de Gerando, a great-grand-nephew of Countess Therese Brunsvik, when publishing in 1909 in the "Mercure de France" her "Journal of my heart. No romance," could argue that the Countess confided, indeed, to this journal her violent love for an unknown gentleman by the name of Louis, but—alas!—not Louis van Beethoven, then, in view of such an unromantic *dénouement*, we need not be surprised, should one of these days the "Immortal Beloved" emerge from her mysterious obscurity as neither the Countess

Therese Brunsvik nor any other of Beethoven's known enchantresses, but just a common-place Therese, Giulietta or Amalie of no particular appeal to us. The de Gerando anti-climax, by the way, was discussed by Mr. Philip Hale in the "New Music Review" of that year and thence found its way into Mr. Krehbiel's edition of Thayer, but not into the German edition.[1]

[1]Since writing the above, I was foolhardy enough to try my hand (unsuccessfully) at a solution of the mystery in a pamphlet "The Riddle of Beethoven's Immortal Beloved," to be published by G. Schirmer, Inc. simultaneously with this book. Those interested in the riddle will find in that pamphlet much which is not in Thayer.





ABBÉ MAXIMILIAN STADLER

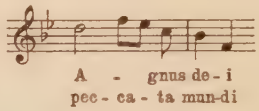
ABBÉ MAXIMILIAN STADLER

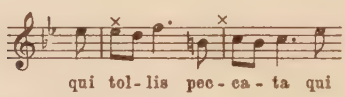
am 6ten
Febr.
1826

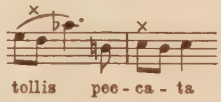
Mein Verehrter
Hochwürdiger Herr!

Sie haben wirklich sehr wohl gethan, den Manen Mozarts Gerechtigkeit durch ihre wahrhaft Musterhafte u. die sache durchdringende Schrift zu verschaffen u. sowohl Layen oder profane wie alles was nur Musikal. ist ♯

♯ oder nur dazu gerechnet werden kann muss ihnen Dank dafür wissen———

Es gehört entweder Nichts oder sehr Viel dazu d. g. aufs Tapet zu bringen, wie H. W, bedenkt man noch, dass so viel ich weiss, ein solcher ein Tonsetz-Buch geschrieben, u. doch solche Sätze  Mozart Zuschreiben will, nimt man nun das eigene Machwerk W. noch dazu, wie 





man erinnert sich bej der erstaunlichen Kenntniss der Harmonie u. Melodie des H. W. an die Verstorbenen alten reichscomponisten Sterkel [illegible] Kalkbrenner (Vater) Andre (nicht der gar andere) etc.
requiescant in pace ——— ich insbesondre dank ihnen noch mein verehrter Freund für die Freude, die sie mir durch Mittheilung ihrer Schrift verursacht haben, allzeit habe ich mich zu den grössten Verehrern Mozarts gerechnet, u. werde es bis zum letzten Lebens Hauch ———

Ehrwürdiger Herr ihren Seegen nächstens ———

Euer Hochwürd.
Mit wahrer
Hochachtung
verharrender
Beethoven

Translation

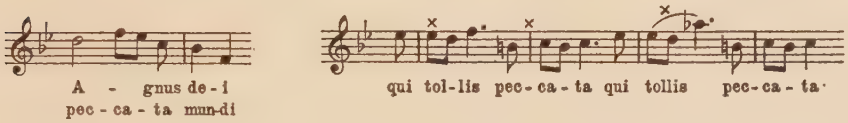
On the 6th of Febr., 1826.

Respected and Reverend Sir:

You have done a really good deed in securing justice for the *manes* of Mozart by your truly exemplary and penetrating essay, and lay or *profane*, all who are musical ♯ or can in anywise be accounted so [the words preceded by ♯ added in foot-note] must give you thanks.—— It requires either nothing or very much for one like H. [err] W. to bring such a subject on the carpet. When it is also considered that to the best of my knowledge such an one has written a treatise on composition and yet tries to attribute such passages as



to Mozart and if one also considers such crudities of W's own as



we are reminded by H. [err] W's amazing knowledge of harmony and melody of the old and dead Imperial Composers Sterkel, [illegible], Kalkbrenner (the father), Andre (*nicht der gar andere*) etc.

Requiescant in pace.—I thank you in especial, my respected friend, for the pleasure which you have given me in sending me your essay. I have always counted myself among the greatest admirers of Mozart and will remain such till my last breath.

Reverend Sir, your blessing soon.

Your Reverend's with true and lasting esteem

Beethoven[1]

In the above letter, with a translation quoted practically *verbatim* from Thayer, Beethoven perpetrated a frightful pun—how he loved puns!—on the name of the composer André and the German word *andere*, meaning *other*. The name of one of the Imperial Composers is illegible for me. Most editors have conjectured the word to stand for Naumann, in his day a composer of renown, and Shedlock-Hull print

[1]The letter is framed and the photographer was obliged to photograph it without removing it from the frame. That accounts for the imperfections of the fac-simile.

that name as if it were certain. However, Beethoven plainly did *not* write or mean Naumann!

The Abbé Stadler is the same abbé to whom Beethoven originally had dedicated the Variations in E flat, Op. 35. As he not infrequently did in such matters, he then changed his mind and instructed his publishers, Breitkopf & Härtel, to dedicate the work to Count Moritz Lichnowsky, even though they might have to re-engrave the title-page at his expense. Perhaps Abbé Stadler had expressed once more his indifference to certain phases of Beethoven's art at a time when the composer was in a mood momentarily to resent, what gossip reported as the Abbé's favorite expression: "pure nonsense." Gossip also had it that he would rather leave the hall than listen to Beethoven's music; others, more charitably inclined, would assure the offended composer that the real reason was the distance of old Stadler's rooms from the concert-hall. He did not pretend to understand Beethoven's later music, but he greatly respected him as a composer and, indeed, volunteered to bring all his influence to bear on the Austrian court for Beethoven's benefit, if he would follow up his "Missa Solemnis" with a further, less problematic, Mass. If Abbé Stadler did not admire Beethoven's music unreservedly, he adored that of his friend Mozart as more or less the last word in music and would take up the cudgels in its defense. As he did on the occasion which prompted Beethoven's letter to him.

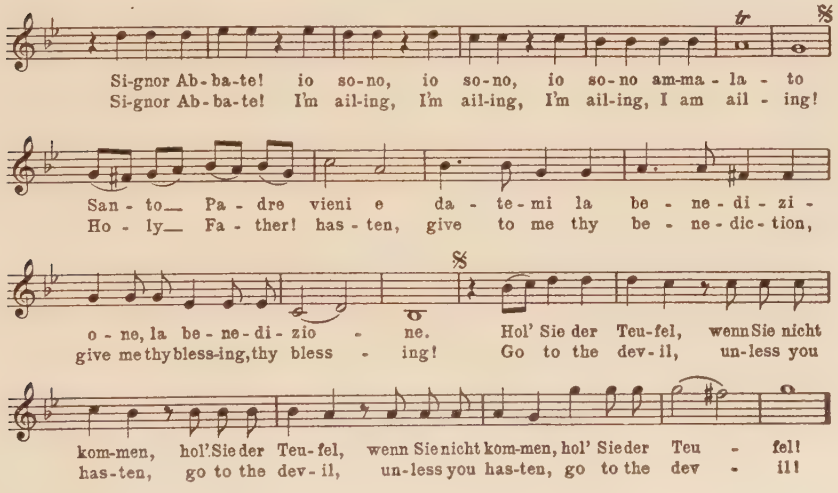
The Herr W. is Gottfried Weber (1779-1839) a much more learned and able musician than Beethoven's letter would lead one to suspect and (with reservations) an admirer of Beethoven to boot. In 1825, he published in the magazine "Caecilia" a critical article on the authenticity of Mozart's "Requiem," which Süssmayr completed according to Mozart's death-bed instructions in such a manner that to this day Süssmayr's share in the work has not been established beyond dispute. Abbé Stadler countered with a pamphlet against some of Weber's faulty deductions and sent Beethoven a copy. The latter, already having characterized Weber on the margin of his copy of "Caecilia" as an "ass," thereupon acknowledged the gift with his letter of February 6, 1826, to the doughty Abbé.

Whatever the merits of this acrimonious, protracted controversy may have been, the importance of Beethoven's caustic letter, first published 1828 in fac-simile in Schlosser's Beethoven biography, lies in the fact that it completely demolished the legend of Beethoven's indifference to Mozart's music. However, even in the absence of this letter to Abbé Stadler,

the legend could easily be proven to have been idle gossip. One need but recall an entry in Beethoven's notes for 1815, in which he humbly referred to the portraits in his room, those of Händel, Bach, Gluck, Mozart and Haydn. Or, one might quote the passage in his charming letter of July 17, 1812, from Teplitz to his youthful admirer "Emilie M. in H.": "Do not tear from Händel, Haydn, Mozart their laurel wreaths. They are entitled to them, I not yet." Or, one might recall the episode, when Beethoven with every sign of profound enthusiasm, exclaimed to his pianistic rival, John B. Cramer, during a concert in the Viennese Augarten at a particularly beautiful passage in Mozart's Pianoforte Concerto in C minor: "Cramer, Cramer! we shall never be able to do anything like that!"

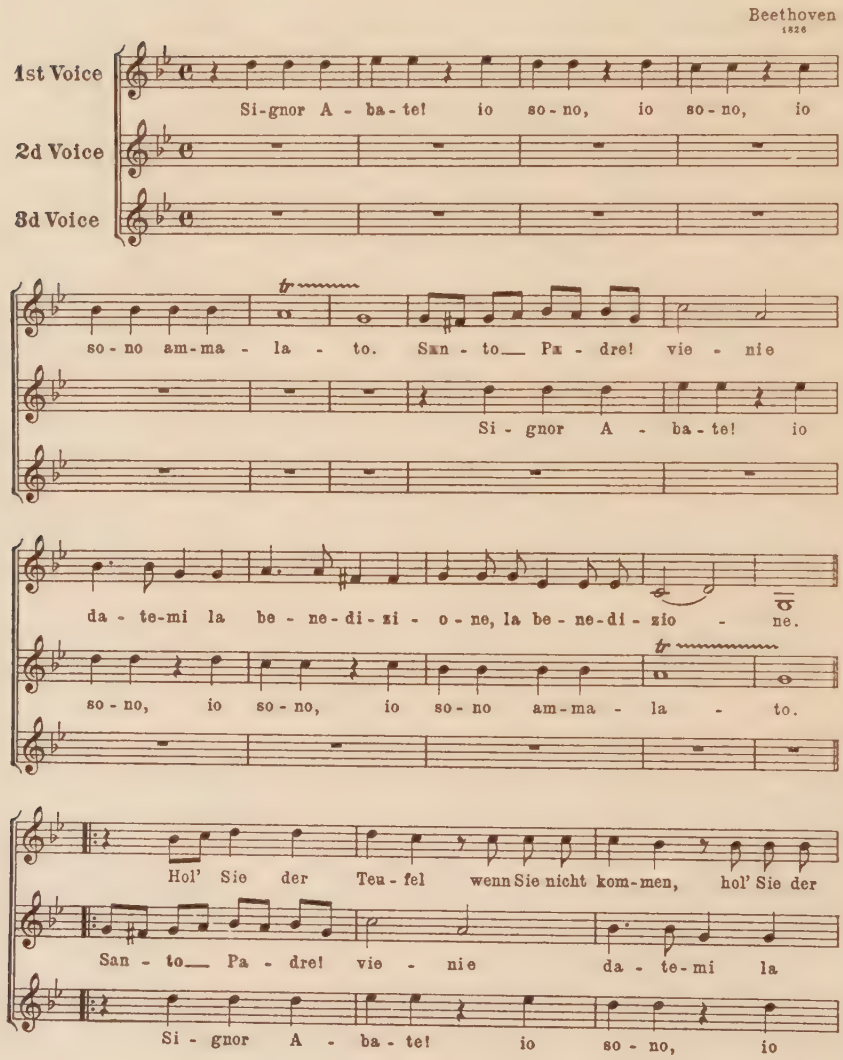
Thayer gave zest to Beethoven's concluding supplication in the letter to Abbé Stadler by reviving an anecdote in Castelli's memoirs: Beethoven and Abbé Stadler once met at Steiner's, the piano-manufacturer. About to depart, Beethoven kneeled before the Abbé and said: "Reverend Sir, give me your blessing." Stadler, not at all embarrassed, made the sign of the cross over the kneeling man and, as if mumbling a prayer, said: "Hilft's nix, schad's nix" (If it does no good, 'twill do no harm"). Beethoven thereupon kissed his hand amid the laughter of the bystanders.

Evidently old Abbé Stadler had a sense of humor. Beethoven's was of a different brand, but it must not be construed as a sign of disrespect, if Beethoven penned, as is most plausible, in the very year 1826 the following burlesque canon for Stadler:



Though, as Thayer-Krehbiel say, there is no authority for doing so, it seems impossible not to associate this three-part canon with the amusing anecdote narrated above. Set out in the three parts, the canon may be found in the fifth volume of Kalischer, or in Series 23 of Breitkopf & Härtel's complete works of Beethoven, and is here reprinted.

Three-part Canon to Abbé Stadler




Teu - fel, 'wenn Sie nicht kom - men. Hol' Sie der Teu - - fel.
be - ne - di - zi - o - ne, la be - ne - di - zio - - ne.
so - no, io so - no am - ma - la - - to.
Si - gnor A - ba - te! io so - no, io so - no, io
Hol' Sie der Teu - fel, wenn Sie nicht kom - men, hol' Sie der Teu - fel, wenn Sie nicht
San - to Pa - dre! vie - nie da - te - mi la be - ne - di - zi -
so - no am - ma - la - to. San - to Pa - dre! vie - nie
kom - men. Hol' Sie der Teu - fel. Si - gnor A - ba - te! io
o - ne, la be - ne - di - zio - ne. Hol' Sie der Teu - fel, wenn Sie nicht
da - te - mi la be - ne - di - zi - o - ne, la be - ne - di - zio - ne.
so - no, io so - no, io so - no am - ma - la - to.
kom - men, hol' Sie der Teu - fel, wenn Sie nicht kom - men. Hol' Sie der Teu - fel.

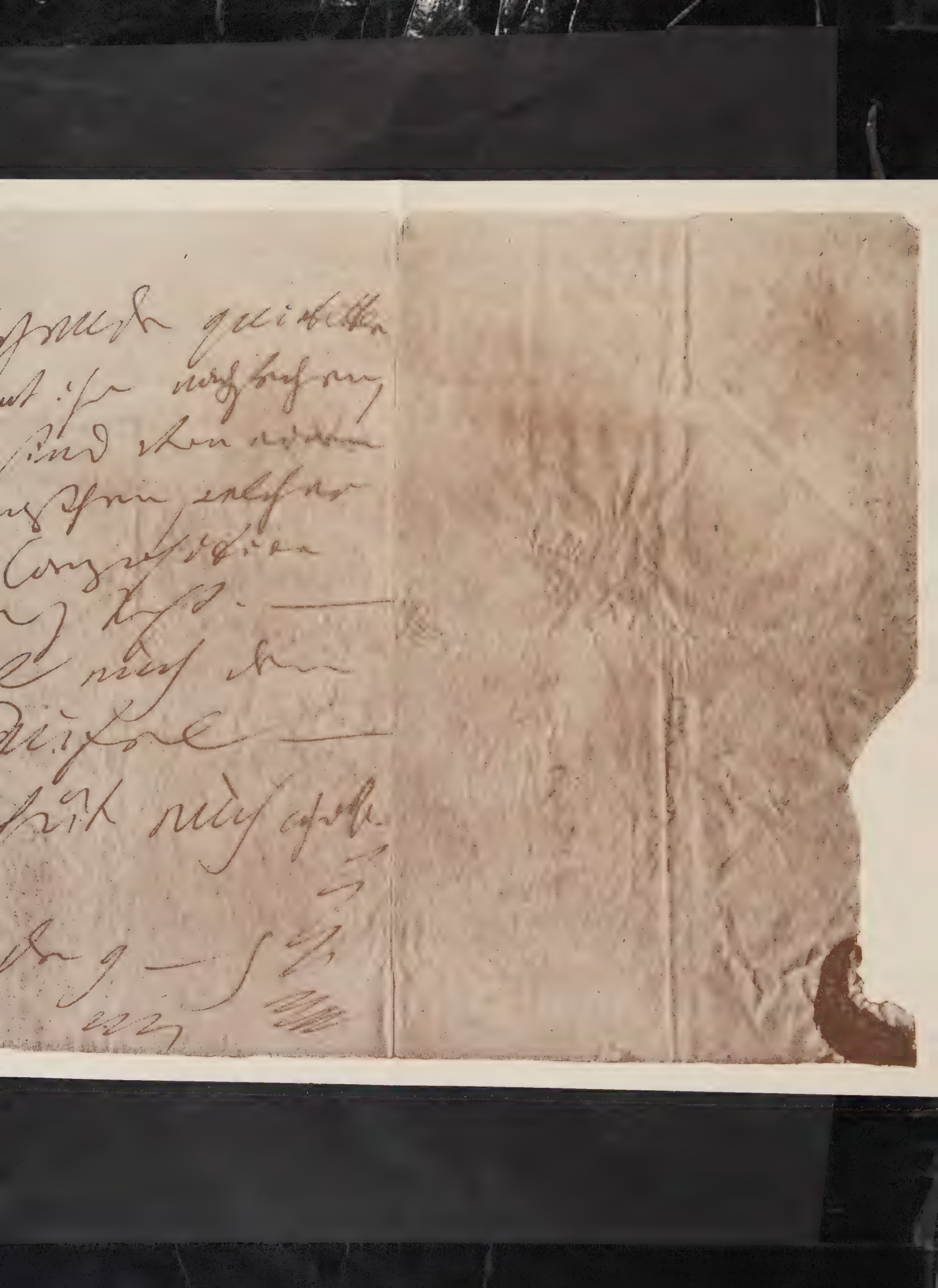
S. A. STEINER & CO.

S. A. STEINER & CO.

Thayer established the fact that Sigmund Anton Steiner took over the "K. K. priv. chemische Druckerei" in Vienna about 1810, but he and others erred if they assumed that Tobias Haslinger joined Steiner then or in 1811. In his important book "Beethoven, Friendship and Correspondence with his publishers Steiner–Haslinger–Schlesinger" (1921), Max Unger tells us that Haslinger, indeed, came to Vienna in 1810, but he argues convincingly that Haslinger cannot very well have entered Steiner's publishing firm earlier nor later than 1814. On the other hand, Dr. Unger seems to accept Thayer's narrative that it was Haslinger who induced Steiner to transfer his establishment to the "Paternoster Gassel" (Paternoster Lane) and to engage him as sales-manager. Haslinger speedily by virtue of his ability rose to partnership and soon made the firm a favorite resort of composers, singers, journalists, etc. Beethoven became acquainted with Haslinger, it would seem, in 1814, and immediately took a special liking to him. From the beginning of his business intercourse with Steiner and Haslinger—particularly close from 1815 to 1817—he adopted a tone of intimacy which led to his prank (as early as 1814) to imagine a sort of military staff of which he, of course, was the "Generalissimus." Steiner figured as the "Lieutenant-General," Haslinger as the "Adjutant-General" or simply "Adjutant" and Anton Diabelli, not yet a music-publisher in his own name, but manuscript reader and editor of Steiner, as the "Provost-Marshal." Also, when Beethoven was in one of his moods for puns—and that frequently happened—as "Diabolus." In the same vein, the clerks he designated as non-commissioned officers. With this curious nomenclature Beethoven for years would address letters, when the humor seized him, to Steiner's shop as the "Office of the Lieutenant-General."

One of these letters Mr. Edward Speyer of Shenley acquired at an auction in 1902. He later presented it to Sir Edgar Speyer, Bar., of London, now of New York, as he himself tells us in an article on his Beethoven manuscripts in Frimmel's second Beethoven Jahrbuch (1909), where the letter was first published (on p. 310) from a "copy." That probably accounts for a trivial error in the transcript of the text, but it does not account for these cabalistic lines which greatly





amused Mr. Edgar Speyer when we compared the rather legible text of the manuscript with the text in the Beethoven Year-book. Unless this article comes to the attention of European Beethoven scholars, the cabalistic nonsense may be perpetuated *ad infin.*, unless they wisely suppress it as Frimmel did in his revised edition of Kalischer.

Der G————s
? 3 ˢ *
will das
Gn l. l-t
Zurt?*
(c - - d | ad infin.)*
Die Zeilen mit * undeutlich! Nicht zu entziffern [The lines with * obscure! Not to be deciphered].

Actually, and without difficulty, the letter reads as follows and the "obscure" lines speak for themselves, if one but remembers Beethoven's military staff:

Das Poenale wird vermehrt u. zwar mit einer Zuckerdose mit Schlüssel etc., wie es geziemt.—folgende quintetten könnt ihr nachstechen, sie sind von einem Menschen, welcher die Composition versteht.—hol euch der Teufel—behüt euch Gott.

Der g———s.

(Address) An das G–l l–t Amt.
(auch für'n adjutanten)

Translation

The Poenale[1] is increased and that by a sugar-bowl with key, etc., as is just. The following Quintets you may reprint, they are by a man who understands composition.—go to the Devil—God protect you.

The G———s

To the Office of the L–t G–l
(also for the Adjutant)

A clear enough text, but why the "Poenale" and to what Quintets does Beethoven refer? Is the word "nachstechen" (reprint) to be taken literally or is it used in the sense of printing, but with a sly dig at publishers in general whose scruples against legally permissible reprints were then not more pronounced than now? Is the word "Quintetten" literally meant as plural or is it simply a humorous *pluralis majestaticus* for one quintet? Does Beethoven refer to a work by himself

[1]The word "Poenale" may mean either fine or prison. In German students' slang a school is often called "Poenale," in the sense of prison.

or does he recommend to Steiner the reprinting of quintets by some other composer who understood composition? When did Beethoven write this "Poenale" letter, now owned by Mr. Edgar Speyer? Is there perhaps a connection between it and the other "Poenale" letter, also undated and now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania? When was that written?

These are bewildering questions. I confess that they did not occur to me in this number and sequence until after I had become a little doubtful about the dates assigned to the letters by others and their and my first and natural impulse to connect Mr. Speyer's letter with Beethoven's String-Quintet, Op. 104. But, before plunging into a perhaps vain attempt to see clearly in these matters, it will be best to enumerate the Quintets composed by Beethoven. They are:

String-Quintet, Op. 4 (after the Wind-octet, Op. 103). Published 1797, by Artaria.

Quintet for pianoforte and wind-instruments, Op. 16. Published 1801, by Mollo.

String-Quintet, Op. 29. Published 1801, by Breitkopf & Härtel.

String-Quintet, Op. 104, after the Trio, Op. 1, No. 3. Published February 1819, by Artaria.

Fuge in D dur for string-quintet, Op. 137. Published 1827.

The Fugue was composed (finished on November 28, 1817) for Tobias Haslinger's sumptuous and colossal manuscript collection of Beethoven's complete works in 62 volumes and need not be considered here. On the other hand, Op. 4 and 29 naturally drop from consideration in this connection because the Speyer letter must have been written after Beethoven had, as it were, appointed Steiner a Lieutenant-General. As for Op. 16, it so happens that Czerny's arbitrary interpretation of it in February, 1816, made Beethoven explode and then write Czerny promptly a letter of apology, while rightly insisting that composers prefer to hear their works performed as composed. However, it hardly seems possible that Beethoven offered a composition of his for reprint to a Viennese publisher, which had been published by Mollo of Vienna fifteen years previously. On the other hand, if we see in the String-Quintet, Op. 104, the subject of Beethoven's increased-Poenale letter, we are led into a peculiar cross-fire of circumstantial evidence to the contrary.

Beethoven's arrangement of the Piano Trio in C minor, Op. 1, No. 3, as a String-Quintet in C minor to which the actual

publisher Artaria gave the opus number 104, when he published it in February, 1819, was one of the very few undertaken by Beethoven himself for a combination of instruments different from the original. In general, he disliked such transformations and protested against them, if done by his publishers for commercial reasons without his knowledge. In this particular case he made an exception because it apparently interested him to match his musical wit against that of a musician or musical amateur who had submitted to him an arrangement for String-Quintet of the same Trio. What the trouble was with that arrangement is clear enough from the title-page in Beethoven's hand for the copyist's score with Beethoven's corrections—the original manuscript seems not to be extant—as preserved at the National Library in Berlin. Beethoven gave it this whimsical title, as translated by Thayer: "Arrangement of a Terzett as a 3-voiced Quintet by Mr. Goodwill and from the appearance of 5 voices brought to the light of day in 5 real voices and lifted from the most abject *Miserabilität* to moderate respectability by Mr. Wellwisher 1817, August 14. N. B. The original 3-voiced Quintet score has been sacrificed as a burnt offering to the gods of the Underworld."

Though Artaria and not Steiner finally published this product of Mr. Wellwisher-Beethoven, nevertheless Beethoven offered the work to Steiner who, it would seem, would not or could not meet Beethoven's terms, whereupon the work in due time passed into the hands of Artaria. This fact is established by a letter to Steiner, printed as No. 759, by Kastner-Kapp, but apparently unknown to Kalischer-Frimmel or Prelinger. The letter is in Beethoven's best vein and reads as follows:

Here follows the Quintet for the office of the L–t G–l. Conditions for it I shall surely know how to make. No intelligence of this is to be given to the Hr. Kaufmann because I shall write him a letter the day after to-morrow about it, wherewith the whole affair comes to an end, since the Hr. K. gave to me nothing but the opportunity for this arrangement, wholly by me. I make a gift of it to the office of the L–t G–l, wherefore I shall most particularly request some shots and advance-shots[1] in due time and therewith *punctum.*

The G—s [Generalissimus]

(with thunder and lightning, only a little more feebly than usually).

To the Devil's office of the L–t G–l.

[1]Beethoven's German "einiges Schiessen und Vorschiessen" is a pun on the words "to shoot" and "to shoot in advance" which also means "to advance money."

The tenor of this letter points to no other work but the String-Quintet, Op. 104. Though that work, to repeat it, was not published by Artaria until February, 1819, after its first public performance at Vienna on December 13, 1818, it obviously must have been composed before August 14, 1817, the date of Beethoven's whimsical title-page. Even had Beethoven neglected to date the title-page, the approximate date of the work could be inferred from this bit of humorous comment on the sterility of the year 1817, in his note from Nussdorf, September 9, 1817 to Baron Zmeskall: "within a few days you will receive the *Fünftett* which you may then do at your leisure. I rehearse daily getting closer to the grave without music." As for the letter quoted above, the German words "hier folgt" (here follows) are plainly used in the sense of an actual delivery of the quintet accompanying the letter. Hence, Kapp, in my opinion, correctly places the letter in August, 1817, because that is the most reasonable date, if Beethoven delivered to Steiner the copyist's score with his own corrections and title and not the original manuscript score. If he delivered the latter, his practice varying in his offerings to publishers between (preferably) clean copies from his orignal manuscript and the latter, naturally the date of the letter would be a few weeks or even months earlier, but still in all probability 1817. Unless the "Hr. Kaufmann"(=merchant) is Steiner himself, the burlesque letter would have established the fact not only that Beethoven offered the String-Quintet, Op. 104, first to Steiner, but also that the whole idea of arranging the Trio, Op. 1, No. 3, originated with a Hr. Kaufmann, whose real name, if that was not really his name, Beethoven does not disclose.[1]

Is it reasonable to suppose that he delivered his String-Quintet, Op. 104, not with one letter only, Kastner-Kapp's No. 759 just quoted, but with two, the other being Mr. Speyer's letter beginning "Das Poenale wird vermehrt"? I think not and consider that only a trifle less improbable even, if the words "Folgende Quintetten" (the following quintets) are interpreted in the sense of "quintets will follow" instead of "the quintets herewith delivered." Furthermore, one would have to assume, in addition, that Beethoven really meant

[1]Since writing the above I ran across the following entry in one of the Conversations-Hefte for December, 1819, as published (1924) by Walter Nohl: "Der charmante Herr Kaufmann erzählte mir, dass Sie Sontags by ihm waren, und sich so gut unterhalten hatten" (The charming Herr Kaufmann told me that you were with him on Sunday and had such a good time). Evidently this Herr Kaufmann and the Herr Kaufmann of the letter to Steiner were identical.

"stechen" (print, literally engrave) though he said "nachstechen" (reprint). Secondly, that he meant *a* Quintet, though he plainly uses the plural "the following quintet*s* . . . *are* by a man who understands composition" and that the man is Beethoven himself, humorously alluded to in that fashion, though that does not follow at all. I am afraid that all this is assuming too much and I, therefore, conclude that in the absence of any proof to the contrary, Beethoven meant literally what he said. In other words, he sent Steiner quintets for reprint and that he coupled this suggestion with his authoritative compliment about a composer whose name he unfortunately did not mention.

As to the date of Mr. Speyer's letter, Frimmel holds that obviously there must be a close connection between the letters of Beethoven in which his humor created a "Poenale." With this theory I agree, but exclude a letter of the year 1825 to Artaria beginning with a "Poenale" with reference to his Op. 133, which is simply a belated revival of his "poenale" joke and has no connection with Steiner. Only three other letters about a "Poenale" appear in his printed correspondence and all three intended for Steiner's firm, including one to Tobias Haslinger to which Kastner-Kapp gives the precise date December 29, 1816. That letter curiously enough ends with this sentence: "with reference to the L–t G–l, there will appear to-morrow a Patent about increase of the Poenale." In view of this sentence, is it unreasonable to argue that Mr. Speyer's letter beginning "The Poenale is increased" was the one so announced? I think not and I therefore conclude that it was written on December 30, 1816—provided, of course, that the letter announcing the "Patent" was promulgated on December 29, 1816.

Those who scanned the first-line list of Beethoven letters in America will have noticed a letter now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, evidently also intended for Steiner and beginning "The Poenale is herewith closed." The natural and logical impulse, I think, is to date such a letter later than the one in which the Poenale is "increased." Why others have disobeyed that impulse and have attributed that letter to 1816, I fail to understand. Probably because the Sonata in A major, Op. 101, therein mentioned, was partly sketched in 1815, was first played in February, 1816, was offered sometime in that year to Steiner for "60 well-armored men" (ducats) and was published by Steiner in February, 1817. I greatly prefer "January, 1817," as the date of the letter in view of the Poenale

letters of December 29th and 30th, 1816. This third, rather fantastic, Poenale letter reads:

Bester Hr: G–l l–t!

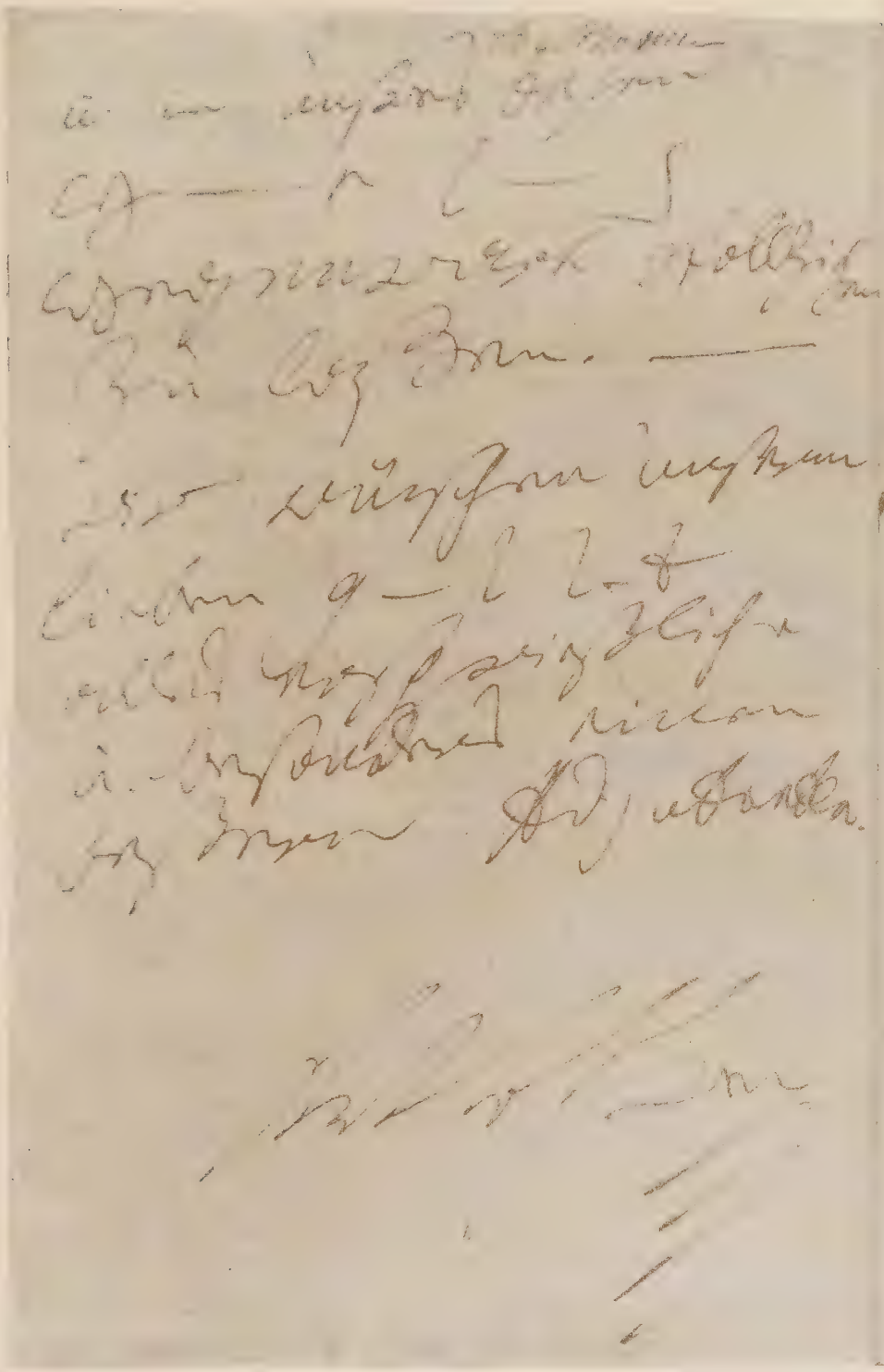
Das Poenale ist hiermit geschlossen u. zwar zu unserer Zufriedenheit, welches unserm lieben getreuen G–l l–t zur angenehmen Wissenschaft dient.—wegen dem Titel der neuen Sonate brauchts garnichts anderes als den Titel, welchen die Sinfonie in A in der Wiener M. Z. erhalten, überzutragen, die schwer zu Exeguirende Sonate in A, mein bester G–l l–t wird zwar stutzen u. meinen schwer sej ein relativer Begriff, was dem einen schwer sej dem anderen leicht, mithin sej garnichts gesagt, allein der gen l–t muss wissen, dass mit dem alles gesagt ist; denn was schwer ist, ist auch schön gut gross etc., jeder Mensch sieht also ein, dass dieses das fetteste, Lob [not Los] ist, was man geben kann, denn das schwere macht schwitzen.—Da der Adjutant hierbej neulich seine verrätherischen u. aufrührerischen Gesinnungen durch Reden wieder gezeigt, so ist solcher sogleich heute bejm rechten Ohr derb anzufassen u. zu zupfen, die weitere Execution behalten wir uns vor, um selbe in unsrer u. in unsres besten G–l l–s Gegenwart vollziehen zu lassen.—Wir wünschen unserem lieben g–l l–t alles erspriessliche u. besonders einen besseren Adjutanten.

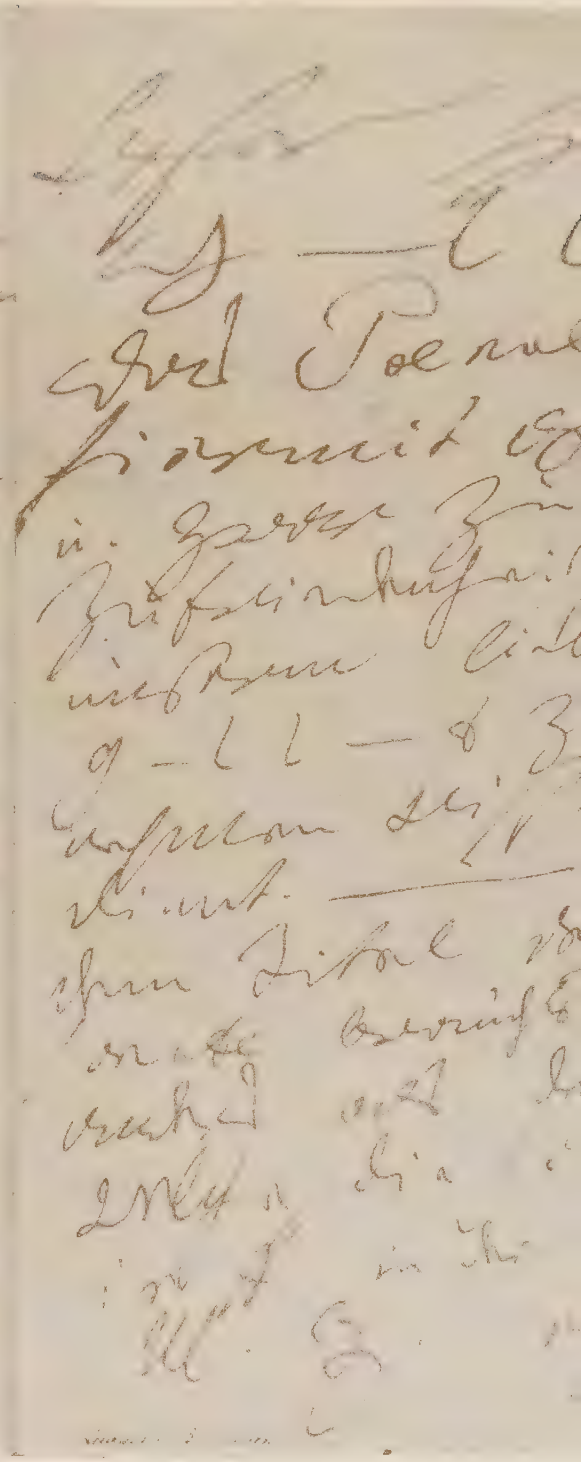
(No address) Beethoven

Translation

Best Hr. L–t G–l!

The Poenale is herewith closed and that to our satisfaction, which serves for our dear, loyal L–t G–l as pleasant news.—As for the title of the new Sonata nothing different is needed than to transfer the title which the Symphony in A [the Seventh, published in December, 1816] received in the Wiener M. Z. The difficult to execute Sonata in A, my best L–t G–l is likely to startle and you will opine that difficult is a relative term, what be difficult for one, is easy for another, hence says nothing, but the L–t D–l must know that therewith *all is said; for, what is difficult is also beautiful, good, great, etc.* Hence, every man perceives that this is the *fattest praise* one can give because the *difficult makes one perspire.*— Since the Adjutant recently on that subject again showed his traiterous and rebellious attitude of mind by speeches, the same is to have immediately to-day his *right ear* roughly seized and pulled. The further execution we reserve for ourselves, to have same carried out in our presence and that of our best L–t G–l.—We wish





our dear L–t G–l everything beneficial and especially a better Adjutant.
(No address) Beethoven

As for the title of the Sonata, Op. 101, perhaps, indeed, "nothing different" was needed, but different it became nevertheless. And that for reasons connected with the text of this undated "military" letter of Beethoven to Tobias Haslinger, now belonging to Mrs. Louis F. Frank of Whitefish Bay, Wis.:

[Wohlgebohrner??] adjutant.

Ich habe nichts von dem röthlichen Unteroffizier gesehn, wahrscheinlich wird er nicht mehr bej dem Kassier Dam̃ gewartet haben, indem er mir von demselben eine Schrift hätte zurückbringen müssen, ich bitte also noch einmal ihn zu dem Kassier deswegen zu schicken, indem ich dort Geld zu empfangen habe, der röthliche hat also vom Hr. K. Dam̃ sogleich zu mir zu komen, es thut mir leid, dem general le–t Amt lästig werden zu müssen, allein ich kann meine Leute zu so etwas nicht gebrauchen.—ich bitte also den röthlichen zu H: Kassier Dam̃ u. von da zu mir zu schicken. Den Brief von Hebenstreit über die Verdeutschung des *piano forte* bitte ich nicht zu zeigen, sondern mir ihn zurückzuschicken, ich bin schon gewohnt, da ich weder ein geleerter noch ungelehrter bin, mich seines Rathes zu bedienen.

leben's fein wohl Hr.
A–t
2-ten l–n K–lchen

[?]

(Address) An den *H.* Adjutanten
Wohlgebohren

Translation

[? ?] Adjutant.

I have seen nothing of the reddish non-commissioned officer, probably he did not wait any longer at the cashier Damm's. Since he was to bring back to me from him something in writing, I ask, therefore, once more to send him to the cashier for it, as I have to receive from there money. Hence, the reddish one is to come from Hr. C[ashier] Damm immediately to me. I am sorry to have to be so troublesome for the L–t G–l Office, but I can't employ my men for that kind of thing. I, therefore, request to send the reddish one to Hr. Cashier Damm and from there to me. The letter of Hebenstreit on the germanizing of *piano forte* I beg

not to show, but to return to me. I am anyhow in the habit, as I am neither an emptied nor an unlearned one, of availing myself of his counsel.

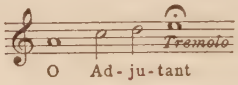
Fare very well
Hr. A–t
2d l–[umpe–n] K–[er]lchen
[? illegible] 

(Address) To the H. Adjutant
Well-born

Above the address is (in translation) this certificate of authenticity signed by Carl Haslinger: "With pleasure I confirm for H. v. Kaderzabeck the genuineness of this autograph of Beethoven. The therein often occurring word 'Adjutant' and 'General' refers indeed to my blessed father, with whom Beethoven is known to have been intimate."

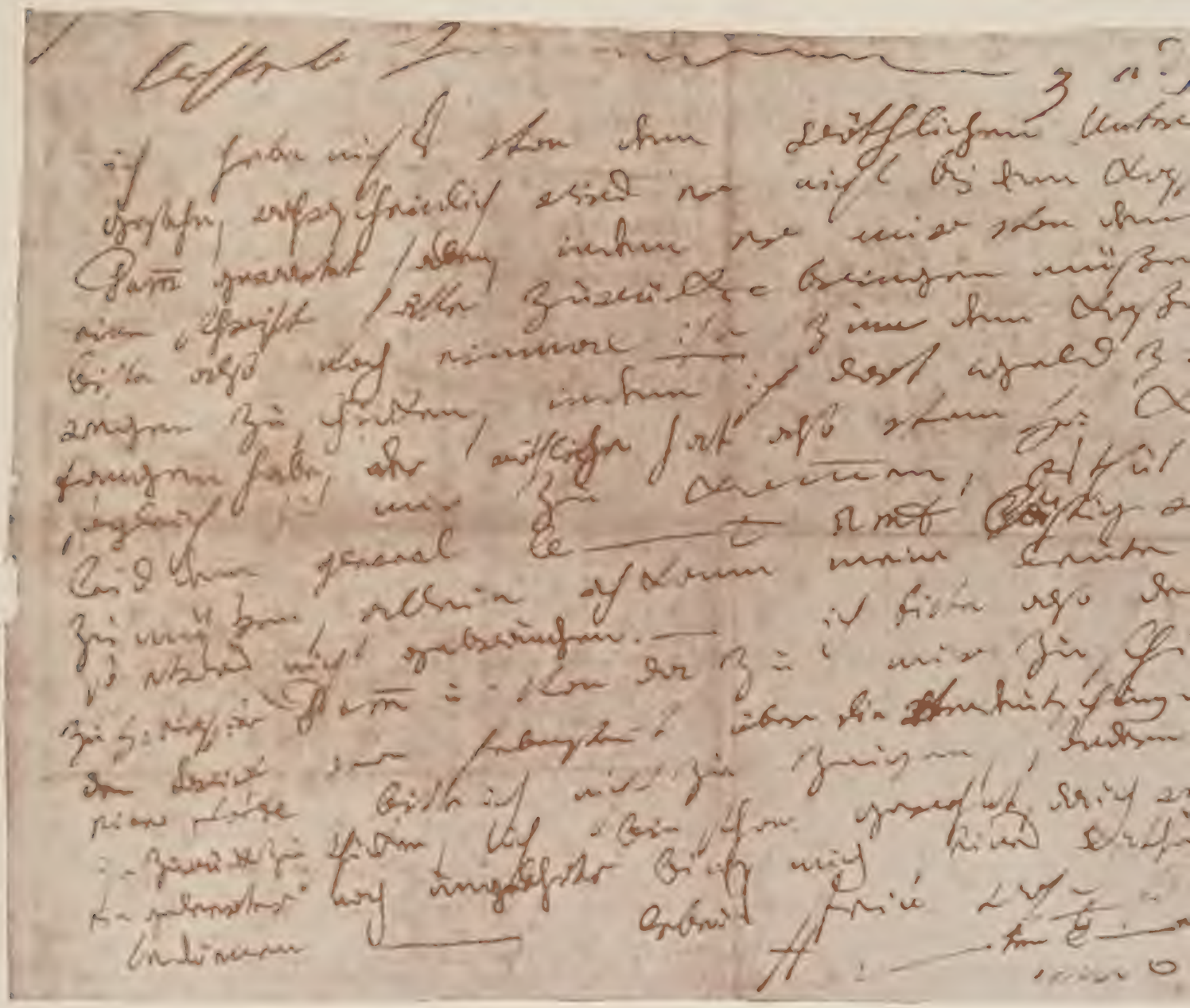
The whimsical notion of signing a letter with notes came to Beethoven on sundry occasions. For instance, the note to Haslinger, soon to be quoted, with Beethoven's mistaken idea about the origin of the pianoforte ends:

Amicus
ad amicum
de amico



The notes and half-notes in the present instance appear to have a little history all their own; at any rate they seem to connect that signature with an earlier letter (presumably November or December, 1916) to Haslinger about "the sonata so difficult to execute," when Beethoven self-ironically writes "who can help writing such difficult to execute  !"

As for the translation "neither an emptied nor an unlearned one," it is literal without an attempt to find in English an equivalent for Beethoven's favorite pun on the German words *gelehrt* (learned), *geleert* (emptied, empty, empty-headed) and *ungelehrt* (unlearned). In general, the letter about the "röthlicher Unteroffizier" in translation loses, like all others of Beethoven in which he issues orders in his capacity as Generalissimus, the flavor of his burlesque imitation of the Austrian





War-Department jargon or of the Viennese dialect ("Leben's fein wohl"). Indeed, the full enjoyment of the fun only those will get who possess Max Unger's book where all of Beethoven's military edicts are published in proper sequence. The present letter is there printed as No. 53, but it may also be found (with a similarly faulty text) in Prelinger, Kastner-Kapp, Kalischer.

Furthermore, in Shedlock-Hull where the brief explanatory foot-note ends with this sentence: "Who Hebenstreit was cannot be determined, although the name is known in musical history; he may have been related to the inventor of the Pantaleon." If Dr. Unger reads that sentence, he will rub his eyes, not only because the context of Beethoven's letter makes it so absurd an *alibi*, but because in his book (1921!) he went to the trouble of informing his readers that the letter alluded to was by Wilhelm Hebenstreit, then the editor of the Wiener Zeitung.

Evidently Beethoven had taken a sudden fancy to the *Sprachreiniger* (language-purifiers) and in a way it certainly is silly for Germans (or Englishmen and Americans) to use Italian terms. That sudden dislike of the word *piano-forte* and his desperate attempts to supplant it by something thoroughly German, form an amusing episode in Beethoven's life. He contracted the malady toward the end of 1816. Its symptoms appear in several letters to Haslinger, but first made themselves visible on the original manuscript of Op. 101: "Neue Sonata für Ham— 1816 im Monath November." In other words, in November, 1816, Beethoven had not yet adopted a title entirely satisfactory to himself. He then began to wonder whether it was to be "Tasten u. Hammer Flügel" or "Hammer- oder Hämmer Klavier oder auch Hämmer-Flügel" and in both letters in which these tentative *Verdeutschungen* appear, he issues the injunction to consult expert linguistic opinion. At this stage of the puzzle he seems to have applied to Hebenstreit and his pertinent letter about the "reddish noncommissioned officer" would seem to belong to either December, 1816 or January, 1817. Then on January 23, 1817, in a brief, but funny edict he decreed that "henceforth on all our works with German title, instead of Pianoforte *Hammerclavier* is to be put." (The Lieutenant-General, by the way, obeyed orders for the Sonatas, Op. 101 and Op. 106, but after that the Generalissimus disobeyed them himself in print, though for the *manuscript* title-page of the E major Sonata, Op. 109, he still clung to "Hammerclavier.") The edict of January 23,

1817, is letter No. 54 in Unger's series, followed immediately by this:

> Sonate must be expressed in German letters—*Musée Musical* first in German, *e. g.*, Musikalisches *Museum* and below *Musée Musical* or only German Sonate des *Museum* für *Klavier*-Musik etc.

Plainly, the purist Beethoven was in trouble! And he continued to straddle when there issued this ultimatum to Haslinger

> Accidentally I stumbled on the following dedication,
>
> Sonate
> Für das Piano-forte
> oder —— —— Hämmer-Klavier
> verfasst u.
> der Frau Baronin Dorothea Ertman
> gebohrne Graumann
> gewidmet
> von L. v. Beethoven
>
> Should the title-page of the new Sonata already be finished, I make these two propositions, either I pay for the new title-page at my expense or one reserves it for another new Sonata by me. . . .
>
> The title has first to be shown to a linguistic expert. Hämmer-Klavier is certainly German. Anyhow the invention [of the piano-forte] is German; do honor to whom honor is due. . . .

In that, of course, Beethoven was woefully mistaken, but he knew not of Cristofori's priority. As for his inspiration by accident, it is rather amusing to see how the purist Beethoven compromised with his patriotic conscience in the nick of time, for the Sonata was published, it will be remembered, in February, 1817, and with this bilingual title:

> Sonate
> pour le Piano-Forte für das Hammer-Klavier (des Museums für Klavier-Musik Erste Lieferung) verfasst und der Freyin Dorothea Ertmann geborne Graumann gewidmet von Ludwig van Beethoven. 101tes Werk.

After this digression—and yet not a digression—back to the closed-Poenale letter. In view of the circumstantial evidence accumulated and in the absence of data to the contrary, one surely has more reason for ascribing that letter to

January, 1817, than to the year 1816. With this I find myself in disagreement especially with Theodor von Frimmel who dates Mr. Speyer's increased-Poenale letter "1816 or 1817" and gives the date 1816 to the closed-Poenale letter about the Sonata, Op. 101, while recognizing the "obvious" relation between the two.

Having challenged the logic of so distinguished an authority, I may just as well go farther and claim that he and Kalischer made out a weak case against Nohl in the controversy about Beethoven's dedication-letter (so called) to the Baroness Ertmann. In that really charming letter to his "Dorothea Caecilia," one of his most brilliant pupils and acknowledged in her day as a Beethoven interpreter of the first rank, he requests her "to receive now what was often intended for you and what may bring you a proof of my attachment to your artistic talent and to you personally." All are agreed that this delicately phrased expression of Beethoven's intention to give Baroness Ertmann pleasure with the dedication of a musical work must refer to the Pianoforte Sonata, Op. 101, but it so happens that the letter is actually dated February 23, *1816*. Nohl, therefore, saw in the year an error of Beethoven for 1817, an error of the kind made by Beethoven repeatedly in his correspondence, but Kalischer valiantly fought for 1816. Frimmel, seconding him, destroys really his position by saying "the allusion to the Sonata, Op. 101, may have been written during the engraving and prior to publication." The latter took place in February, 1817, the engraving largely in 1816, and the letter is dated *February 23*, 1816! The implied absurdity disappears immediately, if we view this date in the light of Beethoven's words "receive now" and in conjunction with his injunctions early in 1817 to Haslinger about the wording of the dedication to the baroness, to which letter he added in postscript the rather significant words: "With reference to the dedication I request to observe the strictest silence, because I want it to be a surprise." In my opinion, nothing can be clearer than that Beethoven did surprise Baroness Ertmann with a printed copy of the Sonata, Op. 101, containing the dedication to her. Since the sonata was not printed until February, 1817, the conclusion must be that Beethoven misdated the letter accompanying his presentation-copy February 23, 1816 instead of 1817, and that Nohl, Kapp and Krehbiel (in Thayer) rightly attribute it to the later year.

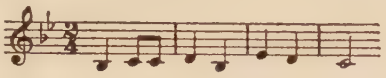
Having wearied the reader with such details, I shall not weary him with an elaborate recital of Beethoven's frantic

efforts to obtain through Ferdinand Ries in London a British publisher for the String-Quintet, who would synchronize the British issue more or less with that of Artaria in Vienna in February, 1819. In his haste, curiously enough, Beethoven when advising probably on March 30, 1818, Ries of the shipment of two works for that purpose mentions "a grand Solo-Sonata for pianoforte" and "a pianoforte sonata [sic!] recreated by myself as a Quintet" for strings.[1] The pianoforte sonata was the gigantic Hammerclavier Sonata, Op. 106, not the A major Sonata, Op. 101, and it will come as a shock to many to hear what Beethoven wrote to Ries on April 19, 1819, about that work: "The sonata was written under distressing circumstances; for it is hard to have to write for one's daily bread; that pass I now have reached." Beethoven had sent the manuscripts to Ries in care of Prince Esterhazy's Courier asking Ries to obtain for both works together 50 ducats, but somehow the correspondence dragged on until on April 16, 1819, Beethoven informed Ries that the publication of the Quintet in Vienna "could no longer be held up" and that it would "appear very soon." A puzzling bit of information, if the Quintet actually saw the light of day in Vienna in February, 1819, but not more puzzling than other such statements in Beethoven's business correspondence.

To bring this chapter to an end more in keeping with its initial scherzo mood, when Mr. Edward Speyer translated for Frimmel his "Poenale" letter about the String-Quintet, he mis-read its end and therewith missed the point of a joke of which Beethoven in that or its reversed form shows himself rather fond in his correspondence. Instead of "hol euch der Teufel—behüt euch Gott" he read "behüt euch wohl" (well) which is not German at all and by way of antithesis not even a poor joke. Now, the appearance of that antithesis of "go to the devil—God protect you" did not in 1817 make its first appearance in Beethoven's letters to Steiner. In its reversed form "God protect you—go to the devil" it ends the famous letter of 1816, in which Beethoven poured his wrath over Steiner's head for the scandalous mistakes in the plates of the Seventh Symphony. And later poor Steiner had to submit to Beethoven's joke even in music! An unidentified hand wrote in a Conversation-book of date March 20, 1820:

[1]Those interested will find the episode surveyed in Thayer (II, 411-414). Or, they may consult the letters of March 8, March 30, April 16, May 25, Nov. 10, 1819. Beethoven made the same mistake in a note written to Nanette Streicher shortly after the completion of the "Fünftett," as he then called it.

Last summer you sent a *canon infinitus a due* to Steiner from Mödling



Nobody has solved it, but I have solved it. The second voice enters on the second:



JOHANN ANDREAS STREICHER

lieber Streicher!

Vorgestern erhielt ich ihr forte piano, was wahrlich vortrefflich gerathen ist, jeder andere würde es suchen an sich zu behalten, und ich—lachen sie ja recht, ich müsste lügen, wenn ich ihnen nicht sagte, dass es mir zu gut ist für mich, und warum?—weil es mir die Freiheit benimt, mir meinen Ton selbst zu schaffen, übrigens soll sie das nicht abhalten alle ihre forte-piano so zu machen, es werden sich auch wohl wenige finden, die ebenfalls solche Grillen haben.

am Mitwoch den 23 ten dieses M. [onats] ist meine Akademie, will Stein komen, so soll er mir herzlich willkomen sejn, Nachtlager hat er ganz sicher bej mir.—was den Verkauf des fortepianos anbelangt, so hatte sich diese Idee schon vor ihnen bej mir entsponnen, und ich werde auch gewiss trachten, sie auszuführen.—für ihre Gefälligkeit, mir so willfährig zu sejn, danke ich ihnen herzlich lieber St., ich wünsche nur in etwas ihre Gefälligkeit erwidern zu können, und dass sie ganz davon, auch ohne dass ich es ihnen hier sage, überzeugt sind, wie sehr ich wünsche, dass die Verdienste ihrer Instrumente auch hier und überall erkannt werden, und wie sehr ich wünsche, dass sie imer mich gern haben mögen, und mich betrachten mögen

als ihren sie liebenden und warmen freund
Beethoven

Pressburg am 19ten November
anno 96 post Christum Natum.

Viel schönes an ihre Frau, und an Braut und Braütigam.

(Address) A Monsieur Monsieur de Streicher Musicien très renommé a Vienne abzugeben auf der Landstrasse in der rothen Rose.

Translation

Dear Streicher!

The day before yesterday I received your forte-piano which truly turned out to be excellent. Everyone else would seek to keep it, and I—do not laugh—should have to lie, if I did not tell you that it is too good for me. And why? Because it deprives me of the freedom to create my tone by myself. However, that shall not prevent you from building all your forte-pianos similarly; few will probably be found who share such notions.

On Wednesday the twenty-third of this month is my Academy [concert]. If Stein wants to come, he shall be heartily welcome to me. He may count with certainty on sleeping-quarters at my place.—As for the sale of the forte-piano, this idea had developed in me before you, and I shall certainly try to carry it out.—For your courtesy to be so accommodating to me, I thank you, dear St. I wish only I could reciprocate with something and also wish that you are wholly convinced, without my saying it here, how much I desire to see the merits of your instruments appreciated here and everywhere, and how much I desire that you may always like me and consider me

Your loving and warm friend
Beethoven

Pressburg, November 19th
anno 96 post Christum Natum.

Best wishes for your wife, and *bride and bridegroom.*

(Address) To Monsieur Monsieur de Streicher, very renowned musician in Vienna. To be delivered at the Red Rose on the Landstrasse.

* *
*

Bester Streicher! ich habe sie recht sehr um Verzeihung zu bitten, dass ich ihnen auf ihren sehr verbindlichen Brief an mich so spät eine Antwort gebe. . . . Wenn ich ihnen sage, dass mich meine mich fast überhäufende Arbeiten daran hinderten, so lüge ich gewiss nicht. ihre kleine Schülerin lieber St. hat mich zudem, dass sie mir bej dem Spiele meines adagios ein par Zähren aus den Augen gelockt, in Verwunderung gesetzt. ich wünsche ihnen Glück, dass sie so glücklich sind, ihre Einsichten bey so einem Talent zeigen zu können, so wie ich mich freue, dass die kleine liebe bey ihrem Talent sie zum Meister bekomen hat. aufrichtig lieber St. ich habe mich zum erstenmale gefreut, mein Terzett spielen zu hören, und wahrlich es wird mich bestimen mehr fürs Klavier zu schreiben als bisher, wenn mich auch nur einige verstehen, so bin ich zufrieden. es ist gewiss, die Art das Klavier zu spielen, ist noch die unkultivirteste von allen Instrumenten bisher, man glaubt oft nur eine Harfe zu hören, und ich freue mich lieber, dass sie von den wenigen sind, die einsehen und fühlen, dass man auf dem Klavier auch singen könne, sobald man nur fühlen kan, ich hoffe die Zeit wird komen, wo die Harfe und das Klavier zwei ganz verschiedene Instrumente seyn werden. übrigens glaube ich, dass sie die kleine überall spielen können lassen und unter uns, sie

wird manchen von unsern gewöhnlichen eingebildeten Lejrern beschämen.

Noch eins: werden sie mir wohl nicht übel nehmen, bester St: wenn auch ich nur einigen wenigen Antheil an ihrer Bildung nehme?—d. h. dass ich mich nur um ihre Fortschritte bekümere, denn ohne ihnen schmeicheln zu wollen, ich wüsste ihr nichts mehr und besser zu sagen als sie und ihre Fortschritte beobachten, und sie aufmuntern lassen für mich.—nun leben sie wohl lieber St. und bleiben sie mein Freund, so wie ich bin ganz

ihr wahrer Freund
L. v. Beethoven

ich hoffe sie bald selbst besuchen
zu können, und dann werde ich ihnen (No address)
auch die Numer von meiner Wohnung
anzeigen, grüssen sie mir ihre liebe Frau.

Translation

Best Streicher! I have very much to ask your pardon for answering your very obliging letter to me so tardily. . . . If I tell you that my work, which almost overwhelms me, prevented me, I certainly do not lie. Your little pupil, dear St., has amazed me, in addition to having lured a few tears from my eyes, by her playing of my Adagio. I congratulate you on your luck to be able to demonstrate your ideas through such a talent, just as I rejoice that the little dear with her talent has got *you* as her master. Sincerely, dear St., for the first time I have enjoyed hearing my Terzett played, and in truth it will determine me to write more for the piano than hitherto. If only a few will understand me, I shall be satisfied.—It is certain that the manner of playing the *piano* is still the most uncultivated of all instruments. Often one believes to hear only a harp, and I am glad, my dear, that you are one of the few who comprehend and feel that one may sing on the piano, too, if one is but capable of feeling. I hope that the time will come when the harp and the piano will be two totally different instruments. By the way, I believe that you can let the little one play everywhere and, between ourselves, she will shame many of our ordinary, conceited thumpers.

One more thing: I trust that you will not take amiss, best St., if I only participate slightly in her education?—i. e., that I only heed her progress, because without wanting to flatter you, I should not know what more and better to tell her than to watch her and her progress, and to have conveyed to her my encourage-

ment.—Now good-bye, dear St. and remain my friend, as I am wholly

Your true friend
Beethoven

I hope soon to be able to visit you personally, and then I shall indicate to you the number of my lodgings. Greetings to your dear wife.

(No address)

Valuable as are all Beethoven letters, these two lay claim to several distinctions. In the first place, both appear to be unpublished. Not only that, but, while a fairly large number of letters to Streicher's wife, Nanette, *née* Stein—the Stein "Mädl" so piquantly described by Mozart—exist, only one to her husband seems to have found its way into print, and that written as late as 1817. Even that letter, if Kalischer is correct, may have been intended for Nanette. Furthermore, the letter written from Pressburg on November 19, 1796, possesses a biographical importance all its own.

Its significance was immediately recognized by Dr. Otto Kinkeldey when Mr. Bauer loaned it to him for the very interesting Beethoven Exhibit which Dr. Kinkeldey arranged a few years ago for the New York Public Library, as the custodian of its music-collections. We know that Beethoven in the winter of 1796, went on a concert-tour to Prague. This he planned (in February) to extend to Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin. At the Prussian capital he spent part of the early summer, improvising there as late as June 28th at the Singakademie. On that occasion, so Beethoven told Mme. von Arnim in 1810, his hearers at the close did not applaud but came crowding around him. (Apparently there is nothing new under the Sun.) But after that even Thayer acknowledges a complete hiatus in Beethoven's history until November, 1796. An authenticated "dangerous illness" may have befallen him in that summer rather than in the equally obscure summer of 1797, but, according to Thayer, "the most plausible suggestion is that coming back, flushed with victory, with the success of his tour and delighted with the novelty of travelling at his ease, he made that excursion to Pressburg and Pesth of which afterwards Ries was informed and made record ('Notizen,' page 109), but of which no other account is known."

This refers to the remark in Wegeler and Ries' "Biographical Notices" (1838) that "Beethoven's travels were exceedingly

few. In his younger years, towards the end of the century, he was once in Pressburg and Pesth (Budapest) and once in Berlin." Strange to say, neither edition of Thayer availed itself of the few but welcome additional crumbs of information which Theodor von Frimmel could supply on Beethoven's mysterious visit to Pressburg in his "Beethoven Studien," II (1906). Having accidentally seen an article by Batka, the Municipal Custodian of the Archives of Pressburg, in which this gentleman merely alluded to "Beethoven's stay with Heinrich Klein at Pressburg," the indefatigable Frimmel promptly drew out of Batka by way of correspondence that the allusion was based on a tradition transmitted to him about 1850 by an old double-bass player, named Sebastiani, who had played the Fifth Symphony under the composer at Vienna and later became a member of the theatre-orchestra at Pressburg in Hungary. Sebastiani apparently belonged to the circle of Heinrich Klein, a musician who died in 1831 and who, it would seem, was instrumental in the fall of 1815, in introducing young Heinrich Marschner to Beethoven. Since, according to Batka, Klein and Joh. Nepomuk Hummel of Pressburg (whom Beethoven knew well but afterwards came to dislike) were on friendly terms, Frimmel suggests that perhaps Hummel was the intermediary between Beethoven and Klein.[1]

These discoveries of Frimmel who has so many to his credit, are now supported and amplified by Mr. Bauer's letter. We now know positively that the hiatus in Beethoven's life need not be extended to end of November, because evidently Beethoven *was* in Pressburg on November nineteenth "anno 96 post Christum natum," ready to share his quarters with Streicher's brother-in-law, ready also to sell for Streicher the pianoforte sent by him, but not anxious, if we may so read between the lines, to play it at his "Academy" (which means concert) at Pressburg on November twenty-third.

A reminiscent remark by Nanette Streicher in the deaf master's Conversation Note-Books of 1824, makes it probable that Beethoven became acquainted with her and her father, the famous manufacturer of *Hammerclaviere* in Augsburg, when on his return to Bonn from his short period of study with Mozart at Vienna in 1787. At any rate, since the middle of the nineties, the Streichers belonged to Beethoven's most loyal and attentive friends and the lovable couple remained so to

[1]From an entry in the Conversations-Hefte (in course of complete publication by Walter Nohl) it appears that "Professor Klein of Pressburg" visited Beethoven twice in November, 1819.

the composer's pathetic end. On many an occasion, Nanette sought to bring a semblance of order into Beethoven's chaotic life as a bachelor and to her he would often apply in desperation for help in his household-affairs. Her husband, on the other hand, proved helpful to Beethoven with practical advice in other directions as, for instance, when in 1824, he outlined ways and means for the composer's cherished plan of a complete edition of his works. Further, Streicher's inventive talent prompted him to devise an apparatus for the better hearing of Beethoven and on one occasion, if memory does not fail me, he keenly suggested for the same purpose and for acoustic reasons that the deaf composer-pianist use an upright-piano instead of a *grand*.

Of Nanette Streicher's pianistic abilities mention has already been made and it was perhaps her musicianship as much as her personality that drew Andreas Streicher to her in Augsburg and made him gradually abandon his career as a pianist of reputation—he was born in 1761 at Stuttgart—and acquire an even more honored name as a manufacturer of pianos as Nanette's partner in life and in business. This she and her younger brother Matthäus Andreas had inherited at her father's death in 1792, and because of the greater opportunities in the metropolis, they removed, by virtue of an Imperial patent, in July, 1794, from Augsburg to Vienna. That Beethoven valued Andreas Streicher highly in his triple capacity of piano-manufacturer, pianist and piano-teacher is evident enough from the two letters, now in Harold Bauer's possession.

Whether Nanette and Andreas were only engaged at the time of their removal to Vienna, as Thayer says, or already married in 1793, as Prelinger writes, is obviously immaterial for a reading of the letter written from Pressburg, but the point has a bearing on the history of the undated letter. Evidently greetings to Streicher's "dear wife" establish the date of their marriage as the earliest possible date for the letter. If we but knew when and from where Streicher wrote his "very obliging letter" to Beethoven, even the date of Streicher's marriage would be immaterial. We should then know from where and when Beethoven wrote to Streicher. As matters stand, though the comparatively fluent hand-writing bespeaks an early period in Beethoven's life, the *locale* of the postscript is puzzling. If Streicher did not write from Vienna, then the probability is that Beethoven did. Only one thing seems certain: Beethoven wrote the letter at a place where Streicher's "little pupil" moved him to tears and caused his contemptuous

remarks about "our ordinary, conceited thumpers" in comparison with her.

But who was she and what did she play? If the letter was written at Vienna in 1795, then the easiest guess might be the little Miss von Kissow, born in 1783 at Augsburg. She arrived in Vienna in 1795 to be educated by Streicher as a pianist, was taken, at Nanette Streicher's instance, into the family of Herr von Klüpfeld, the Secretary of the Russian Embassy, and aroused Beethoven's sincere interest as an interpreter of his works. As Frau von Bernhard, she entrusted, at the ripe old age of eighty-one, her early reminiscences of Beethoven to Ludwig Nohl for his Beethoven biography. Whether she or some other girl was the one in question, an adagio by Beethoven was played on the piano and the girl's playing of it determined Beethoven to compose more for piano in the future. She must have played either an adagio for piano solo or for an ensemble with piano. But what? The answer becomes uncertain because of the word in the letter which so suspiciously looks like the word "Terzett."

For Beethoven to use the word Terzett for music for piano or for an instrumental Trio with piano, would nowadays seem impossible. Yet the word was often so used in former times and not only by amateurs. Indeed, it was so used repeatedly by Beethoven in his letters. A further authenticated use by him of *Terzett* in the sense of *Trio* occurs in his own hand on the title-page of a copyist's score of his Opus 104, the String-Quintet in C minor, arranged by him in 1817 from his Trio for piano, violin and 'cello in C minor, Op. 1, No. 3. On that title-page he whimsically called the Quintet an "Arrangement of a *Terzett* as a 3-voiced Quintet," as the reader already knows! Now whether the Trios, Op. 1, with which at the age of twenty-four, he first presented himself to the world as a finished artist, were composed originally, as Thayer argues, in Bonn before Beethoven settled in Vienna in 1792, is immaterial for the present purpose. Not so the fact that they were played about the end of 1793 in the presence of Haydn, assumed their final shape in 1794 and were published in 1795, after having aroused admiration in private circles. That would speak well for the candidacy of little Miss von Kissow, but Beethoven is not known to have disliked hearing his Trio, Op. 1, No. 3 played! Furthermore, of the three trios, it is the only one without an adagio. If only the word showed more of a resemblance to "Septett," then a different conjecture would suggest itself. His ever popular Septet for four strings and three wind-

instruments, Op. 20 (1799-1800) Beethoven so disliked that he once called it "damned stuff." Of course, he could not very well have enjoyed hearing it played for the first time by Streicher's pupil in its original form, but this Septet (probably) in 1802 he arranged as the Trio for pianoforte, clarinet (or violin) and violoncello, Op. 38, and as such the arrangement was published three years later. If that was the Terzett in question, then I must leave it to Beethoven specialists to reconcile the general early atmosphere of Beethoven's letter to Streicher with so late a date. As a warning, however, to those who may wish to argue for a fairly simultaneous date of the undated Streicher letter and the one written in November, 1796 at Pressburg because both show the same water-mark of C. & I. Honig, be it said that Beethoven also wrote on paper with that water-mark many years later.

However, these little bits of epistolary chronology will arouse in musicians and especially in pianists very much less interest than Beethoven's self-explanatory remarks in both letters about pianos and piano-playing. Probably Streicher put it down, indeed, as just a notion of Beethoven that the piano sent to Pressburg was "too good" for him because "it deprived him of the freedom of shaping his tone for himself." The identical reason, by the way, was recently advanced to me by a famous pianist, probably with tongue in cheek, why he backed inferior instruments. The gentleman may now quote in support of *his* notion one of the greatest pianists after Mozart, if not the greatest, as Beethoven was considered by many progressive musicians. True, an opposite camp of connoisseurs preferred the suave, elegant, brilliant neatness of virtuosos like Steibelt and (in a different *musical* direction) Hummel, or for pianistic attainments in general John B. Cramer, but Beethoven had no rival, when it came to putting great virtuosity at the service of great emotional and spiritual utterances and soul-stirring musical ideas which called for pianistic devices previously unknown, or not employed in Beethoven's manner; for instance, certain *rubato* effects and the more frequent use of the pedal. One must not be misled by the remark of Clementi (who assuredly knew a thing or two about piano-playing) that Beethoven's technique was but imperfectly developed. In comparison with his own, that of Beethoven probably did show imperfections, but Clementi heard Beethoven only in 1807 or thereabouts when Beethoven had already subordinated the pianist to the composer and no longer practised regularly.

Much has been written since the days of Czerny on the rise and decline of Beethoven, the pianist, and the peculiarities and characteristics of his pianistic art, but comparatively few pianists of our own time seem to care to acquaint themselves even with contemporary evidence for possibly useful hints for the interpretation of Beethoven's works. Otherwise Theodor von Frimmel's delightful survey "Der Klavierspieler Beethoven" (Beethoven Studien, II, 1906, p. 210-271) would be far better known than it appears to be among thoughtful pianists. However, Beethoven must be conceded to have had but very few rivals as a pianist during his prime, before advancing deafness and neglect of technical practice imparted to his playing its later characteristic and somewhat slovenly roughness, though even then his powerful improvisations and his *prima vista* playing remained unequalled. And Beethoven could move his auditors—much to his own disgust—to tears at will, precisely because he made them feel that one could "sing" on the pianoforte. Of course, he did not stand isolated among pianists and composers of his era in that respect, but his insistence on a "singing" tone in combination with the revolutionary demands made by the range, intensity, contrast and sweep of his emotions compelled piano-manufacturers to heed his demands away from the echoes of the harpsichord toward the modern pianoforte. Among the first was Streicher. Testimony to that effect we possess in Reichardt's letter of February 7, 1809 (as translated by Thayer):

> Streicher has abandoned the soft, yielding, repercussion tone of the other Viennese instruments, and at Beethoven's wish and advice has given his instruments greater resonance and elasticity, so that the virtuoso who plays with strength and significance may have the instrument in better command for sustained and expressive tones. He has thereby given his instruments a larger and more varied character, so that they must give greater satisfaction than the others to all virtuosi who seek something more than easy brilliancy in their style of playing.

Yet Beethoven who showered on the world so many priceless sonatas and concertos for the pianoforte, never seems quite to have overcome an aversion against composing for it. Perhaps he instinctively felt that his style of treatment might not be the last or even the best. At any rate, this exclamation of June 2, 1804 in his "Journal" would seem to go deeper than a merely temporary outburst of mood: "God only knows, why my piano music still makes on me always the worst impression, especially if badly played."

FÜRST VON TRAUTMANNSDORF

FÜRST VON TRAUTMANNSDORF

Euer Durchlaucht!

Da ich vernomen, dass ich zu meiner Accademie den 7 ten April nicht erhalte; so bitte ich Euer Durchlaucht gehorsamst, mir am 8 ten April den grossen Redouten-Saal zu einer Accademie zu gestatten, und zwar um Mittagszeit, wodurch weder die Theatre, noch ich, gefährdet werden. So sehr bin ich Euer Durchlaucht verbunden, für die mir allzeit bezeigte Bereitwilligkeit, und welches noch schmeichelhafter ist, dass Euer Durchlaucht nicht ganz untheilnehmend an meiner Kunst sind. Ich hoffe bald Gelegenheit zu finden, Euer Durchlaucht meine tiefste Hochachtung und Verehrung zu bezeigen.

Euer Durchlaucht
gehorsamster
Ludwig van Beethoven

Wien den 21. März 1824

Translation

Your Serene Highness!

As I have heard that I can not get for my concert the 7th of April, I request Your Serene Highness most obediently to grant me for the 8th of April the large Ridotto-Hall for a concert, and then for midday, whereby neither the theatres nor myself are endangered. Greatly obliged I am to Your Serene Highness for the willingness always shown me, and what is still more flattering, that Your Serene Highness are not quite indifferent toward my art. I hope soon to find an occasion to manifest to Your Serene Highness my deepest respect and esteem.

Your Serene Highness'
most obedient
Ludwig van Beethoven

Vienna, March 21, 1824

Obviously Dr. Keffer owns a formal petition by Beethoven to a high dignitary and couched in so obsequious a tone as to contrast sharply with the tone Beethoven sometimes adopted when addressing those in a domain in which he reigned supreme. The date of the petition connects it with the great event in musical history for which the German edition of

Euer Durchlaucht!

Da ich brauchen, theils ich für meine Academie den 7ten Theil mit zufalle; so bitte ich Euer Durchlaucht gehorsamst, mir um 8 Duc. Theil den vorigen Gedanken-Saal zu einer Academie zu gebrauchen, und zwar um Mitte Juni, wenn hinter die Theater. mehr ich, gebraucht werden.

Ich gehe hin in Euer Durchlaucht Großmuth, für die mir allezeit bezeigte Gnädigkeit, und wahre mich ganz gehorsamst, Euer Durchlaucht mit meiner Kunst zu dienen. Ich suche bald Gelegenheit zu finden, Euer Durchlaucht meine tiefste Ehrfurcht und Verehrung zu bezeigen.

Euer Durchlaucht

Wien den 21. März. 1824.

gehorsamster

Ludwig van Beethoven



Thayer, printed this program, apparently in imitation of the original:

Grosse
Musikalische Akademie
von
Herrn L. v. Beethoven
welche
morgen am 7. Mai 1824
im K. K. Hoftheater nächst dem Kärnthnerthore
abgehalten wird.

Die dabei vorkommenden Musikstücke sind die neuesten Werke des Herrn Ludwig van Beethoven.

Erstens. Grosse Ouvertüre.

Zweitens. Drei grosse Hymnen mit Solo- u. Chorstimmen.

Drittens. Grosse Symphonie mit im Finale eintretenden Solo- und Chorstimmen auf Schillers Lied an die Freude.

Die Solo Stimmen werden die D^elles^ Sonntag u. Unger u. d. Herren Haizinger u. Seipelt vortragen. Herr Schuppanzigh hat die Direktion des Orchesters, Herr Kapellmeister Umlauf die Leitung des Ganzen und der Musik Verein die Verstärkung des Chors und Orchesters aus Gefälligkeit übernommen.

Herr Ludwig van Beethoven selbst wird an der Leitung des Ganzen Antheil nehmen.

Die Eintrittspreise sind wie gewöhnlich.
Anfang 7 Uhr Abends.

The third number of this program speaks for itself, but he would search in vain who desired to identify among Beethoven's *newest* works that "grand overture": it was none other than the overture "Zur Weihe des Hauses," Op. 124 ("The Consecration of the House"), composed and first performed in the fall of 1822. Also, only the initiated could have suspected that with the "Three Grand Hymns with Solo and Chorus Voices" nothing less than the "Missa Solemnis" (or "Missa solennis" as the work is also known) awaited them on that momentous occasion. Not in its entirety, only with substantial excerpts, but, strange to say, neither the American nor the German edition of Thayer informs us precisely what part of the Mass was represented by the three "hymns" in addition to the *Kyrie* and the *Credo*, though we are told that the *Gloria* and the *Sanctus* were omitted. Presumably all present believed this to be the first performance anywhere of the gigantic work even in this garbled form, but the actual first and more complete performance had taken place about a month previ-

ously, on April 6th, at St. Petersburg under the auspices of Prince Galitzin. And, when enthusiasm ran high at Vienna on May 7th, perhaps Beethoven least of all foresaw that with the exception of the *Kyrie*, repeated at a miscellaneous concert on May 23rd, he was never to "hear" even excerpts from his "Missa solemnis" again and that, with exception of partial performances at Paris and Warmsdorf in Bohemia, the Mass would vanish for twenty years until, in 1844, Heinrich Dorn produced it again at the Niederrheinisches Musikfest at Cologne. But that performance naturally lacked the pathetically "human interest" of the first at Vienna: though Beethoven went through the motions of conducting, not to him but to Umlauf did singers and instrumentalists look for guidance and the thunders of applause went unnoticed by the deaf master, as if complete silence had greeted his music, until Caroline Unger beckoned him to see what he could not hear. The ovation from the over-crowded house could not but unnerve him for the aftermath. The hope had been that the concert would greatly relieve his strained financial condition. The receipts were heavy, but so were the expenses, including abnormal disbursements for copying the music. With the result that the sensational concert yielded a surplus of only 420 florins and when Schindler submitted the audit, Beethoven collapsed in a faint. In his chagrin he even accused Schindler and the theatre-manager Duport of having cheated him. Indeed, a regrettable taint of speculation attaches to the whole history of the Ninth Symphony and the "Missa Solemnis" and contrasts unpleasantly with the sublimity of these works.

A modern concert-manager of only fair skill and experience, when reading the historical accounts of that unparalled "Akademie" on May 7, 1824 must wonder how with such primitive management and with such inadequate rehearsals a first performanc of the Ninth Symphony and the "Missa Solemnis" could have been carried through. It was a case of too many cooks—Schindler, Brother Johann, Nephew Karl, Prince Lichnowsky, Schuppanzigh, Beethoven himself and half a dozen others, involved in this or that capacity—spoiling the broth for an event that was inspired by the public appeal of thirty titled and untitled music-lovers to Beethoven in February, 1824, to shed the glory of first performance on Vienna instead of Berlin and (between the lines) to cure the musical world of the Rossini craze. Endless conferences of Beethoven's General Staff took place to remove all and sundry obstacles, including local jealousies, the censor's objection to

the singing of a Mass in a theatre and last, but not least, the composer's own indecision and vacillation.

One of the perplexing problems, not solved until toward the end of April in favor of the Kärnthnerthor Theatre, was where to give the concert. The petition of March 21, 1824, leads us into the midst of these deliberations at a time when one party among Beethoven's advisers and he himself temporarily preferred the large Ridotto-Hall to any other locale. The Conversations-Hefte of that period contain a special plea by Johann van Beethoven to apply to Graf Dietriechstein for the use of the Ridotto-Hall *on the evening of April 8th.* Should the Count refuse the evening which would be worth 1500 florins more, then surely the use for midday could be counted on. Beethoven, as we have seen, acted on his brother's suggestion and did submit a petition to that effect, not to Graf Dietriechstein but to an imperial official apparently still higher in authority and entitled, as a mere Count was not, to the appellation Your Serene Highness. This can have been no courtier other than Fürst von Trautmannsdorf who held in 1824 the position of Chamberlain-in-chief to the Emperor and had as such the last word in matters pertaining to the use of the Ridotto-Hall. Whether the petition was granted or not, I do not know, but the marginal note on the petition "Ich glaube es [?] kein bedenken" would tend to indicate that at least one official through whose hands the petition passed, did not believe it to have been objectionable.

If the reader will now look at that line, he will notice that it is not in the hand which wrote the petition. Furthermore, he will probably have noticed that while Beethoven signed the petition, *he did not write it* and perhaps the reader will have wondered why I have included that petition among "Beethoven Letters in America." For the excellent reason that this petition clears up a disputed point in the history of the first performance of the Ninth Symphony and the "Missa Solemnis"! Better still, it does so under circumstances which impart a humorous side to an otherwise, I fear, dry epistolary investigation.

Kalischer first printed in his "Neue Beethoven Briefe" and then reprinted in his complete edition of Beethoven's letters as No. 983 under date of "March 1824?" and as addressed to Anton Schindler the following:

Da ich vernommen, dass ich zu meiner Akademie den 7 ten April, so bitte S. Dr. mir den 8 ten April im grossen R. Sa.

[Redouten-Saale] zu einer Akademie mir zu gestatten, und zwar um Mittagszeit, wodurch weder die Werke noch ich gefördert werden [?!] —so sehr bin ich S. D. verbunden für die mir allzeit bezeigte Bereitwilligkeit u. welches noch Schmeichelhafter ist hierbei, das S. D. nicht ganz untheilnehmend an meiner Kunst war, ich hoffe Gelegenheit zu finden, dieserhalb [?] S. D. meine Hochachtung zu beweisen.

Kalischer adds in a foot-note:

After the original manuscript in the Royal Library of Berlin. . . . This letter, not copied by Schindler, was particularly difficult to decipher; several puzzles remain unsolved. At the words "for midday," presumably a "not" is missing, thus: "and then not for midday," because otherwise the rest of the sentence ["whereby neither the works nor I are benefited"] contains a contradiction· S. D. or S. Dr. is an abbreviation for "Seine Durchlaucht" [His Serene Highness]: Schindler believes to remember that Beethoven means the Fürst von Trautmannsdorf. . . . A queer mistake is perpetrated by L. Nohl who picks a few words from this letter to Schindler, submitted to his friend Schindler by Beethoven as addressed to His Serene Highness, and he then quickly carpenters out of them an independent little letter "to the Chamberlain-in-chief Fürst Trautmannsdorf" (No. 288 of his Beethoven Letters).

Poor Nohl! Practically accused of forgery, he merely succumbed to his fatal habit of printing fragments of letters, but in so doing he showed more common sense than Kalischer (and Kalischer's copyists) who all print the text in Kalischer as a "letter" to Anton Schindler, as if he were a Serene Highness and empowered to grant such a petition or not.

Riemann, when revising the fifth volume of the German edition of Thayer, saw more clearly in that *letter* a "brief note sent to Schindler which seems to form the draft of a petition to a high official, on whom the permission depended." Riemann then quotes the draft from a copy made by Thayer himself, but, if Kalischer and Nohl textually disagree, so do Kalischer and Thayer. Kalischer, believing the word "not" to be missing where Beethoven applies for the Ridotto-Hall on April eighth instead of April seventh, read the text (translated) as "and then not for midday, whereby neither the *works* nor I are *benefited*." Thayer-Riemann read the text (translated) as "and then for midday, whereby neither the *theatre* nor I are *endangered*." Two different readings with opposite meanings!

The italics are mine and so were the italics when I mentioned Johann van Beethoven as urging on his brother the Ridotto-Hall for the *evening* of April eighth and his financial reason for his preference. Dr. Keffer's formal petition proves that in this little textural matter again Kalischer failed to score: his reading of the text is wrong and that of Thayer-Riemann is right. Therewith Kalischer's (otherwise logical) conjecture that the word "not" is missing, falls to the ground and need not be discussed further. From the correct text it would seem to follow that Beethoven learned that the evening of April eighth would be denied to him and he then decided to apply for midday on the grounds stated by him—and they were the practical grounds for denial of the evening. That is to say, Duport, the manager, had planned, as he told Brother Johann, putting on for that evening an old opera or a ballet at the theatre and presumably he did not care to have the competition of a sensational concert, nor Beethoven that of some box-office opera or ballet.

Moreover, the formal petition signed by Beethoven and dated March 21, 1824 (which date, by the way, approximately fixes the date of the draft at the National Library in Berlin) justified Nohl in seeing in the recipient none other than Fürst Trautmannsdorf. Also, Schindler's memory did not trick him in this instance and, though I do not know Schindler's handwriting, circumstantial evidence permits us to take it for granted that to Schindler fell the task of putting Beethoven's draft of the petition into the final form as approved by the petitioner. In that respect a comparison with Kalischer's text will prove that Schindler, though ten years earlier under suspicion for his republican leanings, knew the art of flattering a Serene Highness with proper servility and also knew the fine points of addressing correctly such a big-wig as Fürst Trautmannsdorf: Beethoven's third person "Seine Durchlaucht" (His Serene Highness) was correct enough in a draft given to Schindler, but in the formal petition it had to be "Euer Durchlaucht" (Your Serene Highness).

JOSEF VON VARENA

JOSEF VON VARENA

To give him his full name and titles, Dr. Josef Ignaz Edler von Varena, K. K. Gubernialrath and Steyermärkischer Kammerprokurator of Graz, made the acquaintance of Beethoven at the still famous Bohemian "Kurort" Teplitz in the summer of 1811. This soon led to a correspondence to which we owe a series of some of Beethoven's most affable and unselfish letters. The one belonging to Mr. Warburg is not the first of the series. About half a dozen preceded it, more or less of the same tone and in the same vein. The correspondence appears to have begun either in December, 1811 (Kastner-Kapp) or end of January, 1812 (Thayer) and from the beginning appears to have had as its subject Varena's interest in charity concerts at Graz and Beethoven's willingless to serve such a laudable cause. The very first words of the first letter established the key of the series, so valuable for a side of Beethoven's character which is a credit to him:

> If your letter did not show so clearly the intention to help the poor, you would have offended me not a little by coupling your request with compensation. Never, since my early childhood did my eagerness to serve suffering humanity somehow with my art, permit itself to be compensated otherwise and the inner glow of satisfaction which always accompanies the gift, sufficed.

Beethoven then proceeded to make certain suggestions for the program, not dissimilar to the suggestions made in Mr. Warburg's letter. On February 8, 1812, he went so far as to promise to send Varena each year for the benefit of the poor, unpublished manuscript works even or such composed for the occasion. Naturally he took the precaution to make the condition that the privilege of performance of such works should not be transferable. However, not everything went smoothly with the plans of this first of (what one might call) Beethoven's charity concerts at Graz. His spirit was willing enough, but the flesh of his copyists was weak. That is to say, from his letters to Varena we know his regrets at his inability to get the scores and parts copied without delay. The concert, under the auspices of the Art Society of Graz, took place on Easter Sunday, March 29, 1812, Beethoven being represented, so Thayer says, by the overture to "King Stephen," the march

with chorus from "The Ruins of Athens," the overture to "Egmont" and the Septet. The nuns gained on the occasion the handsome sum of 1836 fl. 24 k. Vienna Standard.

In behalf of the venerable ladies, Varena sent 100 florins as Beethoven's remuneration. Beethoven promptly informed Varena that the cost of copying would be deducted and the balance returned to the nuns and he requested Varena to "tell them that their good intentions touched me deeply." Somehow Varena misunderstood Beethoven's remarks about copying expenses and this compelled Beethoven in his letter of May 8, 1812, to set things right. As if to make amends for the misunderstanding, he remarked that only his financial misfortunes could have made him charge even for copying expenses, proceeded to make a gift of the score of his oratorio (evidently the "Mount of Olives" of which the fame was soon to reach America) and the "Egmont" overture and then promised the reverend Ursulines for their next charity-concert "an entirely new symphony, at any rate, and perhaps something important for voices in addition—and since I now have the opportunities, the copying shall not cost you a Heller." This promise he repeated when on July 19, 1812, he had occasion to thank the nuns for some sweetmeats they had sent him to Teplitz and he gave to his promise this characteristic Beethovenian touch with the remark that Archduke Rudolph had the symphony (apparently Op. 92, A major) copied for his manuscript collection of his master's works and that, therefore, the reverend ladies could be spared copying expenses altogether.

The next letter in the series was the undated letter now belonging to Mr. Warburg and preserved as an integral part of his magnificent volume of autographs from which it could not be removed for photographing purposes—with the result that the *fac-simile* naturally is very much out of focus. The reference to the violin-virtuoso Pierre Rode who concertized in Vienna early in 1813, establishes that as the year of the letter.

Mein werther Herr!

Rode hatte wohl in allem recht, was er von mir sagte—Meine Gesundheit ist nicht die beste—und unverschuldet ist eben meine sonstige Lage, wohl die Ungünstigste meines Lebens—übrigens wird mich das und nichts in der Welt nicht abhalten, ihren ebenso unschuldig leidenden Convent-Frauen soviel als möglich durch mein geringes Talent zu helfen—daher stehn ihnen 2 ganz neue Sinfonien zu Dienste, eine Arie für Basstim̃e mit Chor, mehrere

einzelne kleine Chöre, brauchen sie die Overture von Ungarns Wohlthäter [in foot-note: die sie schon voriges Jahr aufgeführt], so steht sie ihnen ohnedem zu Dienste. Die Overture von den Ruinen von Athen diese obschon in einem etwas kleineren styl steht ihnen auch zu Dienste.—

Unter den chören befindet sich ein Derwisch chor für ein gemischtes Publikum ein gutes Aushängeschild.—meines Erachtens würden sie aber wohl am besten thun, einen Tag zu wählen, wo Sie das Oratorium Christus am Oelberge geben könnten, es ist seitdem an allen Orten aufgeführt worden. Dieses machte dann die eine Hälfte der Akademie, zur 2 ten Hälfte machten Sie eine neue Sinfonie, [?] Overtüren und verschiedene Chöre, wie auch die obgesagte Bassarie mit Chor— so wäre der Abend nicht ohne Mannigfaltigkeit, doch reden sie dieses an besten mit den dortigen Musikal. Ratsherren ab—was sie von einer Belohnung eines Dritten für mich sagen, so glaube ich diesen wohl errathen zu können, wäre ich in meiner sonstigen Lage, nun ich würde gerade sagen: "Beethoven nimt nie etwas, wo es für das beste der Menschheit gilt" doch jetzt ebenfalls durch meine grosse Wohlthätigkeit in einen Zustand versetzt, der mich zwar eben durch seine Ursache nicht beschämen kann, wie auch die die anderen Umstände welche dran schuld sind von Menschen ohne Ehre ohne Wort herkomen, so sage ich ihnen gerade, ich würde von einem reichen Dritten so etwas nicht ausschlagen—von Forderungen ist aber hier die Rede nicht, sollte auch das alles mit einem Dritten nichts sejn, so sejn sie überzeugt, dass ich auch jetzt ohne die mindeste Belohnung eben so willfährig bin, meinen Freundinnen den Ehrwürdigen Frauen etwas Gutes erzeigen zu können, als voriges Jahr, und als ich es allzeit sejn werde für die leidende Menschheit überhaupt, so lange ich athme!—

und nun leben sie wohl, schreiben sie bald und mit dem grössten Eifer werde ich alles nöthige besorgen—meine besten Wünsche für den Convent.

Mit Hochachtung
Ihr Freund
Ludwig van Beethoven

(Addressed) "An Seine
Hochwohlgebohrn Herrn Joseph
von Warena in Grätz."

Translation

My worthy Sir!

Rode probably was right in everything he said about me. My health is not of the best and without any fault of mine, my

condition otherwise is probably the unhappiest of my life. However, that (nor anything else in the world) will prevent me from helping your equally innocent sufferers, the Convent-ladies, as much as possible with my modest talent. Hence, two entirely new symphonies are at your service, an aria for bass-voice with chorus; several single small choruses: if you need the overture to Hungary's Benefactor, which you performed last year, that is at your service, too. The overture of "The Ruins of Athens," though in a somewhat smaller style, is also at your service. Among the choruses is a chorus of dervishes, a good sign-board for a miscellaneous public.

In my opinion, however, you would fare best by choosing a day on which you could perform the oratorio "Christus am Oelberg" ("Mount of Olives"); since then [1803] it has been performed all over. That would then make up half of the concert; for the second half you would do a new symphony, the overtures and diverse choruses, as also the above-mentioned aria for bass with chorus. Thus the evening would not be without variety, but you would better discuss this with your local musical councelors.

What you say about a compensation for me from a third person, I believe I can guess who he is. Were I in my former circumstances, I should promptly say: "Beethoven never takes anything when the welfare of humanity is concerned"—but now, placed in a condition which precisely because of its cause can bring me no shame, by my own philanthropy and also other circumstances which are to blame and are brought about by men without honor and untrustworthy, I tell you frankly that I should not refuse such a something from a rich third party.—But there is no talk here of demands. Should all this about a third, amount to nothing, be convinced that I am just as willing now as I was last year to do some good for my friends, the venerable ladies, and as I shall always be anyhow for suffering humanity, until my last breath.—

And now farewell. Write soon and with the greatest zeal I shall attend to everything necessary. My best wishes for the convent.

With high esteem your friend

Ludwig van Beethoven

(Addressed) To his
High-well-born Herrn Joseph
von Warena in Graz.

Without a few explanatory remarks this letter may sound just a little mysterious in spots. Of course, the words "your equally innocent sufferers, the Convent-ladies" embrace both Beethoven and the Ursuline nuns. Their institution had

always counted more than 350 pupils but it had been reduced to poverty by the same *Finanz-Patent* of 1811 which played havoc with the fortunes of high and low in Austria. Beethoven could not very well expect to be spared by a war-measure which affected the actual value of Austrian currency in a similar manner, though not nearly so disastrously, as not quite one hundred years later another war was to do. Beethoven, however, very much like many sufferers from that later war, took the reduction in his revenues as a personal affront. In brief, in this letter his remarks about "gentlemen without honor" refer to the vicissitudes of the annuity granted Beethoven by Prince Kinsky, Archduke Rudolph and Prince Lobkowitz in 1809 on condition that he remain in the Austrian capital instead of accepting the financially and otherwise alluring invitation from Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, to fill the post of royal chapel-master at Cassel. This annuity from the three admirers of Beethoven's genius amounted nominally to 4000 florins, but after the *Finanz Patent* went into effect the amount legally receivable in silver had dropped by way of depreciation to just about 1613 florins. Nevertheless—and that no reader of Beethoven's sweeping slurs would suspect—Archduke Rudolph and Prince Lobkowitz continued to pay in full their nominal share regardless of the *Finanz-Patent.* Prince Kinsky was prevented by an untimely death from doing likewise and since he had left no instructions in his will to that effect, the legal agents for the Kinsky Estate naturally were bound by the regulations of the *Finanz-Patent.* Now, Prince Kinsky had subscribed 1800 florins of the total and one can readily understand Beethoven's annoyance at the prospect of receiving, by virtue of the rate of depreciation, only the equivalent of 726 florins. Nevertheless, the tone of Beethoven's grievance is unpardonable, but it also explains how he could push his trust in the equity of a claim against the Kinsky Estate so far as to contemplate legal proceedings. Fortunately for him, the legal adviser of the Kinsky family, Dr. Kanka, loved music and especially Beethoven's music deeply and he caused the foolishly irate master to abandon the suit and to accept a compromise by which 1200 florins a year were secured to him and arrears amounting to about 2500 florins.

In this whole matter of the annuity Beethoven fared exceedingly well, if one considers the financial disturbances of which he unavoidably was but one (and a lucky) victim out of millions who could not count on the liberality of princely

benefactors, themselves, moreover, badly hit by conditions. That Beethoven now and then would admit, but as the annuity continued to suffer from circumstances over which these benefactors could exercise no control, so Beethoven's grievances continued and in his later letters one may find pertinent (and impertinent) signs of his ill-humor and dissatisfaction with the whole annuity-contract. Presumably his side of the contract rankled him: he could not leave Vienna or Austria without forfeiting his revenues from that source and that though finally, as he once bitterly remarked, the annuity barely sufficed to pay half a year's rent. In other words, Beethoven came to regret the bargain because it chained him to Vienna and, so he would argue, deprived him of his freedom to settle elsewhere to his advantage. Indeed, even as early as the period in which his letters to Varena were written, he seems to have felt the weight of the chain to such an extent that he hinted to Varena the possibility that he might soon become a "Landesflüchtiger," *i.e.* might escape from the country!

As for the works proposed for the program by Beethoven, the two symphonies were his Seventh (Op. 92) and Eighth (Op. 93) and the bass-aria with chorus Kalischer-Frimmel conjecture to have been No. 7 from "The Ruins of Athens" "Mit reger Freude" (chorus) "Wir tragen empfängliche Herzen." To this concert Beethoven referred at the time in a letter to his friend Zmeskall and he remarked with evident pride:

> I have just been requested to send works to Graz in Styria, to give therewith a concert for the benefit of the Ursulines and their educational convent; last year they had in the same way generous receipts. With this concert and the one I gave in Karlsbad for the benefit of the sufferers from the fire in Baden, three concerts have been given in one year by and through me—for me one has everywhere the ears on the feet [meaning, a deaf ear is turned]

Not so by Varena, for Beethoven had this to say to him on April 8, 1813:

> I received with much pleasure your letter but again with much displeasure the 100 florins intended for me by our poor convent-ladies; meanwhile they are deposited with me to be applied against the copying. Whatever remains will be returned to the noble convent-ladies together with a statement about the bills for copying.
>
> Never do I take anything for such occasions—I thought that perhaps the third person whom you mentioned was the former

King of Holland and—well, from him, who perhaps took from the Hollanders much in a less legitimate manner, I should not have hesitated to take something in my present condition; but now I kindly beg of you that nothing more be said on the subject. . . .

The cutting remarks about the ex-King of Holland, of course, refer to Louis Bonaparte who abdicated in 1810 and retired to Graz where he lived until end of 1813 as Comte de St.-Leu. If no money reached him from Louis Bonaparte, Beethoven was enabled to acknowledge on July 4, 1813, the receipt of 150 florins sent to him by The Association of the Friends of Art and Music of Graz under whose auspices on Palm Sunday, April eleventh, that year's charity concert had taken place with Beethoven's oratorio "The Mount of Olives" as the second part of the program. He protested as usual and volunteered to pay back the 150 florins in form of a grand concert which he would give in Graz, if his affairs permitted him to make the trip.

Therewith the correspondence between Beethoven and Varena on the concerts for the benefit of the Ursuline convent seems to have come to an end.[1] Or rather, the letter of July 4, 1813, is the last known on that subject. The few subsequent (preserved) letters of Beethoven to Varena display Beethoven in the year 1815, not in the rôle of a charitably inclined composer, but in that of an expert on pianos. Varena had asked him to select one for his daughter. Beethoven answered on March 21, 1815, that the proper selection of a piano would not be so easy a matter and would require time and he added these interesting data about prices of makes and methods of payment, prevailing in those days:

You may obtain from Schanz the best piano he is able to deliver for 400 fl. Viennese Currency, with six octaves and inclusive of packing. Seiffert asks 460, but would probably take 400. But there are other capable master-makers, so I hear, from whom one could obtain a good, durable piano for even considerably less than 400 fl. . . . As for payment, the instrument-makers demand it here *in loco* at the time of shipment, because, as they say, they used to have frequent trouble in that matter.

Beethoven, it will be noticed, says nothing about a commission for himself. Though, as he wrote in 1810 to his friend

[1]Those further interested in the subject I refer to F. Bischoff's article "Beethoven und die Grazer musikalischen Kreise" in Frimmel's first Beethoven-Jahrbuch, 1908.

Gleichenstein on a similar occasion, "these gentlemen always offer me a certain sum, but I never accept it" his rule had its exception or, at any rate, he was willing to make an exception on that occasion, but in the case of Varena presumably he adhered to his principles. That would seem to be implied by the low price mentioned in his letter of July 23, 1815, to Varena, now owned by the Harvard Musical Association:

Wien am 23. Juli [?]

Sie werden, mein lieber Varena, nun längstens in 12 Tägen erhalten [das Piano].

Es war nicht möglich, ihnen's eher zu schaffen ohnehin bin ich in allen Sachen zum Ausrichten, bestellungen etc ein äusserst ungeschickter Mensch.

Es kostet 400 fl: mit Emballage, ein anderer müsste 600 fl: bezahlen—Schuster [?] wird die 400 fl: gleich hier bezahlen, wollen sie noch 50 fl: darauf legen für Verschönerungen, so schreiben Sie mir sogleich.

Das Instrument ist von Schanz, wovon ich auch eins habe.

In Eil
ihr Beethoven

Ich empfele mich ihrer familie.

(Address) Für Seine Wohlgebohren Herr von
Varena in Gräz (in Steiermark)

Translation

Vienna, July 23, [1815]

You will now, my dear Varena, receive the piano at most in twelve days.

It was not possible for me to procure it for you sooner. Anyhow, I am in all matters of errands, commissions, etc., an extremely awkward person.

It costs 400 fl. with packing, another would have to pay 600 fl. Schuster [?] will pay the 400 fl. right here. If you want to add 50 fl. for embellishments, write me immediately.

The instrument is by Schanz, by whom I also have one.

In haste

My respects to your family. Your Beethoven

(Address) For His Well-born Herr von
Varena in Graz (in Styria)

If Beethoven could save his friend Varena 200 fl. in this transaction—33 per cent.—at least in this instance, the

result belied his candid self-reflection of awkwardness. Schanz, by the way, enjoyed the reputation of being one of Vienna's best pianoforte manufacturers. According to Frimmel, Beethoven, however, ordinarily preferred the instruments of Streicher-Stein and Graff. Probably his own instrument by Schanz had cost Beethoven less than even 400 fl. or nothing because naturally then as now manufacturers considered it an honor (and good business) to be identified with pianists of Beethoven's eminence. In this spirit, for instance, Erard of Paris and Broadwood of London had presented to him instruments of their make. Curiously enough, the official inventory of Beethoven's estate listed only "1 Pianoforte von John Broadwood und Sohn aus London im Mahagonikasten" of an estimated value of 100 fl.

The little business letter just quoted I should not like to dismiss without qualifying my remark "now owned," because of the anachronistic flavor of the word *now*. It is one of the innumerable autograph letters of Beethoven of which the whereabouts appear with a question-mark in Prelinger. Naturally so, because the letter has been preserved at the Harvard Musical Association since 1860. How that venerable organization acquired it, Dwight's Journal of Music on February 4, 1860, p. 359, reported in this delightful news-item, reference to which I owe to the courtesy of the Assistant Librarian, Miss M. A. Thayer. The item reported the proceedings of the Annual Meeting at the Revere House, Boston, on January 16th:

> After business the usual supper followed [with glees, speeches, pianoforte pieces, etc., by way of entertainment]. . . . During the evening a very interesting autograph letter of Beethoven was passed round. It was purchased in Vienna, through the aid of our friend A. W. T. [obviously Alexander Wheelock Thayer], by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop and by him presented to the recent Washington Statue Fair, for which it arrived a day too late. A subscription was raised at once among the members of the H. M. A. amounting to $50; the money to go to the Washington statue, the autograph to remain at the disposal of the H. M. A.

BARON NICOLAUS ZMESKALL VON DOMANOVECZ

BARON NICOLAUS ZMESKALL VON DOMANOVECZ

Bester Z! ich muss sie um eine Gefälligkeit bitten, so ungerne ich es auch thue: nemlich: ich wünschte, dass sie statt meiner versuchten, ob ihnen Artaria 6 oder 12 Exemplare lassen wollte für jetzt nur, die anderen wollte ich noch nachkaufen, ich muss durchaus Salieri ein Exemplar geben, warum werde ich ihnen sagen, auch noch einigen anderen. Jetzt wünschte ich aber, dass sie so gut wären das Geld für die 6 oder 12 E. für mich bejm A. auszugeben, die Speculation mit unserer Aufnehmung von 500 Gldn wird doch noch, und vielleicht vortheilhaft für mich zustande kom̃en, und dann sollen sie gleich ihr ausgelegtes Geld haben. Suchen sie A. zu bereden, dass er ihnen doch diese 6 oder 12 Exemplare lässt, noch ehe er die 30 Gldn von L. hat. ich bitte mir doch gleich zu sagen, wann ich eine Antwort von ihnen hierüber erwarten darf. sehr lieb wäre mirs, wenn ich noch heute Exemplare haben könnte, weil ich dem Salieri muss noch heute eins geben.

ihr wahrer Freund
Beethoven

(Address) an Herrn
von Zmeskall

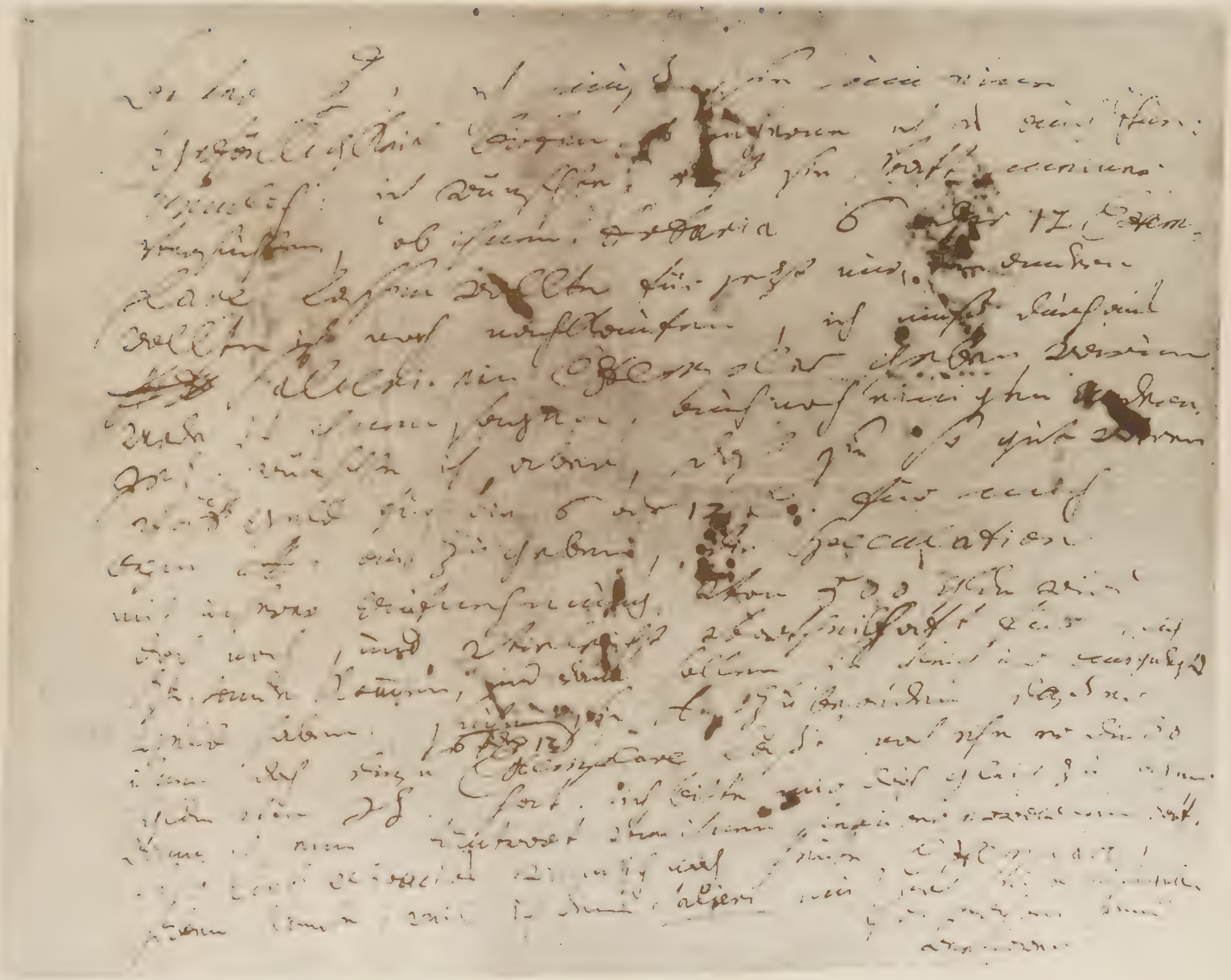
Translation

Best Z! I must ask of you a favor, as much as I dislike to do so. To wit: I wish that you, instead of me, would try to prevail on Artaria to let you have 6 or 12 copies for the present. The others I should purchase later. I simply must give Salieri a copy, and also to others. Why, I shall tell you. Just now I should very much like you to lay out the money for me at A. for the 6 or 12 C. The speculation with our taking up 500 florins will, after all, be effected, and perhaps to my advantage. Then you shall have your loaned money back immediately. Try to persuade A. to let you have the 6 or 12 copies before he has the 30 florins from L. Pray let me know promptly when I may expect an answer from you about this. It would please me very much, if I could have copies to-day, because I must give one to *Salieri* to-day.

Your true friend
Beethoven

(Address) to Herrn
von Zmeskall

Beethoven appears in this letter now owned by Dr. Keffer, in the rôle of speculator on a small scale, but to what kind of a





speculation he refers, I am unable to say. Evidently von Zmeskall was to repay himself for the cost of the 6 or 12 copies out of the hoped-for success of the speculation—from the point of view of creditors a typically "artistic" proposition. And why the maneuvre of obtaining the copies from Artaria, before he received 30 florins from L.? Again I am unable to say, but if the L. stands for Prince Lichnowsky, the suggestion may have reference to the Trios, Op. 1 by Beethoven because Lichnowsky had subscribed in 1795 for 29 copies of this work, published by Artaria of Vienna in the same year on the advance-subscription plan. That would place this "speculation" letter in 1795 or 1796, but the two references to Salieri make the year 1799 much more probable. If Beethoven so urgently needed copies for Antonio Salieri, the Royal Imperial Chapelmaster and famous composer (in his own and Gluck's best style) of "King Axur in Ormus," and other operas, from whom Beethoven for years sought advice in "the free style of composition" and for the proper treatment of the human voice, then the most plausible argument is that the work in question bore some intimate relation to Salieri. That would seem to point to either Beethoven's Violin Sonatas, Op. 12, which were dedicated to Salieri or to the Ten Variations for pianoforte on a theme from Salieri's opera "Falstaff," both works published by Artaria in 1799.

This letter and the following note are printed here as a tribute to Baron Zmeskall who, about ten years older than Beethoven, made his acquaintance in 1796 or earlier and never wavered in his loyalty to the composer whose genius he recognized at a time when others might have suspected in the unconventional music of the young man from Bonn merely the product of just one more charlatan bent on "making people sit up and take notice." There is a story of feeble, old von Zmeskall, though crippled by gout, insisting on being wheeled in his invalid's chair in May, 1824, to the first performance of the Ninth Symphony and the "Missa Solemnis." What emotions must have passed through his heart when he saw on that memorable occasion his idol deaf to the thunders of applause and looked back thirty years when the two of them, healthy in body, engaged in merry pranks and in speculations. He loved Beethoven and appreciated his character too well to let the caprices of artistic temperament cast a lasting shadow on their friendship, even under trying circumstances. Of all men with whom Beethoven came into contact, v. Zmeskall probably was one of his very best friends in the true sense of that so

frequently cheapened word. In turn, Beethoven valued the sturdy character of the baron very highly. He frequently sought his advice and, what is more, followed it. A minor, but in Beethoven's case really major, function of the calm and well-balanced baron was to counsel him in the matter of engaging men-servants, an advisory rôle which for women-servants Frau Nanette Streicher came to play in the later years of the erratic, deaf bachelor. Baron Zmeskall, by the way, who moved, as did his friend, in the most aristocratic circles, was a violoncellist and composer of no mean ability and Thayer quotes Sonnleithner to the effect that "his three string-quartets would entitle him to an honorable place among masters of second rank."

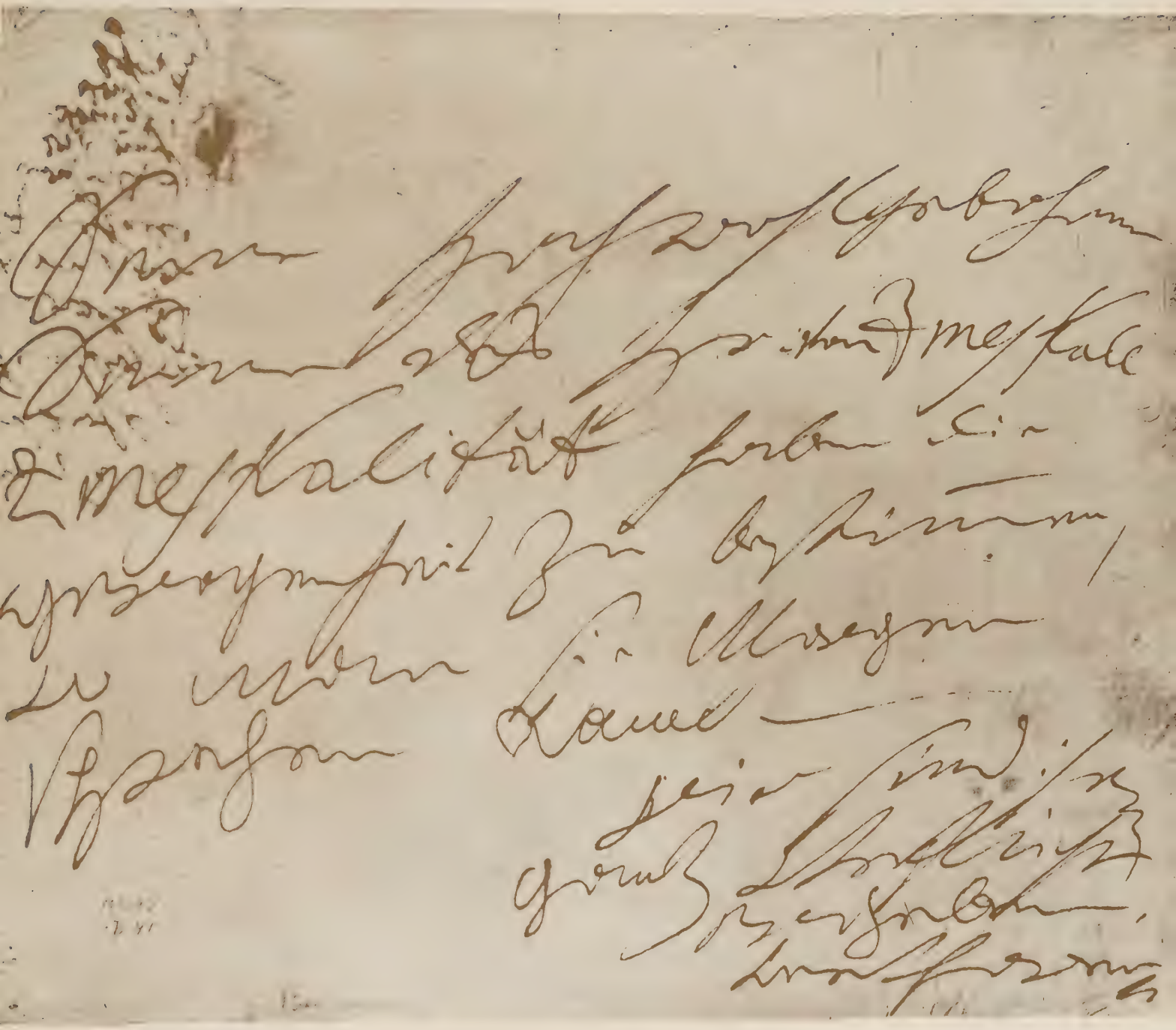
Like Beethoven, he was bound by ties of intimate friendship to the musically so gifted Brunsvik family. He was the confidant of Count Franz, Countess Therese and their sister Countess Josephine Deym, all of whom worshipped at the shrine of Beethoven's genius and it was Baron Zmeskall who kept Countess Therese informed of events in Beethoven's life until its very end. This we know from the book on the master's *Vie intime* (1926) by Mr. de Hevesy who found among the papers of Countess Therese even a touching report from the Baron on Beethoven's funeral, and it is not difficult to read between the lines of that letter the Baron's pride in the fact that no Austrian Emperor, as he says, ever had such an overwhelming tribute of respect. Moreover, it is a striking proof of his respect and friendship for Beethoven that he so cherished every scrap of paper from him that he seems to have preserved them all. Something like 130 letters and notes from Beethoven to him were found among his papers. In the majority of these, Beethoven gave full play to what Thayer sympathetically calls his "queer fancies and sometimes extravagant humour." The following, possibly of 1798 and now in the Library of Congress, is a good example of such bantering missives.

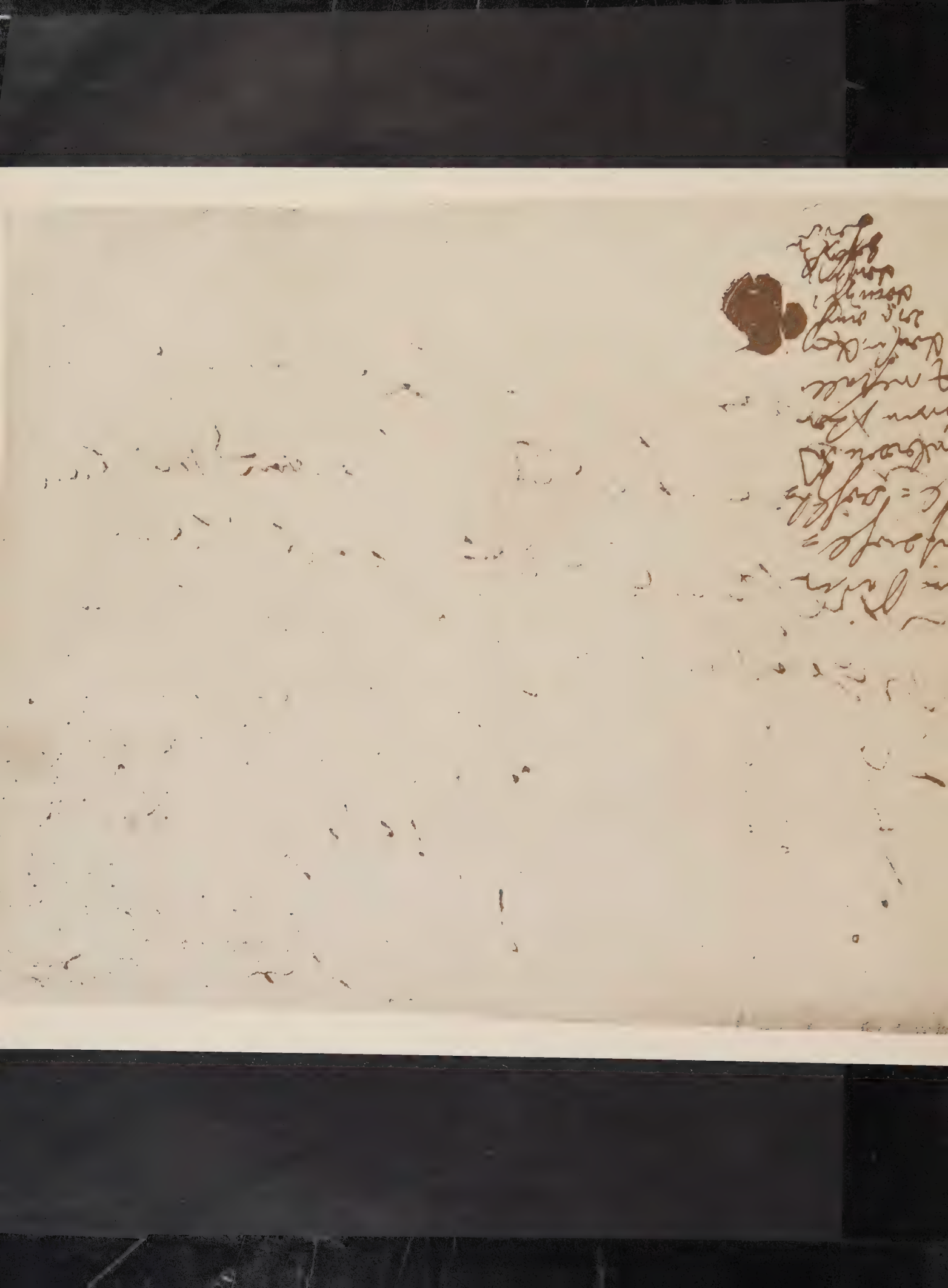
Seine Hochwohlgebohren Seine des Hr. von Zmeskall Zmeskalität haben die Gewogenheit zu bestimen wo man sie Morgen sprechen kann.

Wir sind ihnen ganz Verflucht

ergeben
Beethoven

(Address) An Seine Hochwohl-wohl-wohlstgeboren des Herrn Von Zmeskall Kais. u. Königl. wie auch Königl. Kaisl. Hofsekretär.





Translation

His Highly Well-born, His Herrn von Zmeskall's Zmeskality have the kindness to decree when one may speak to you to-morrow.

We are your most damnably devoted
Beethoven

(Address) To His Highly Well-Well-Bestborn, the Herr von Zmeskall, Imperial and Royal as also Royal-Imperial Court Secretary.

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